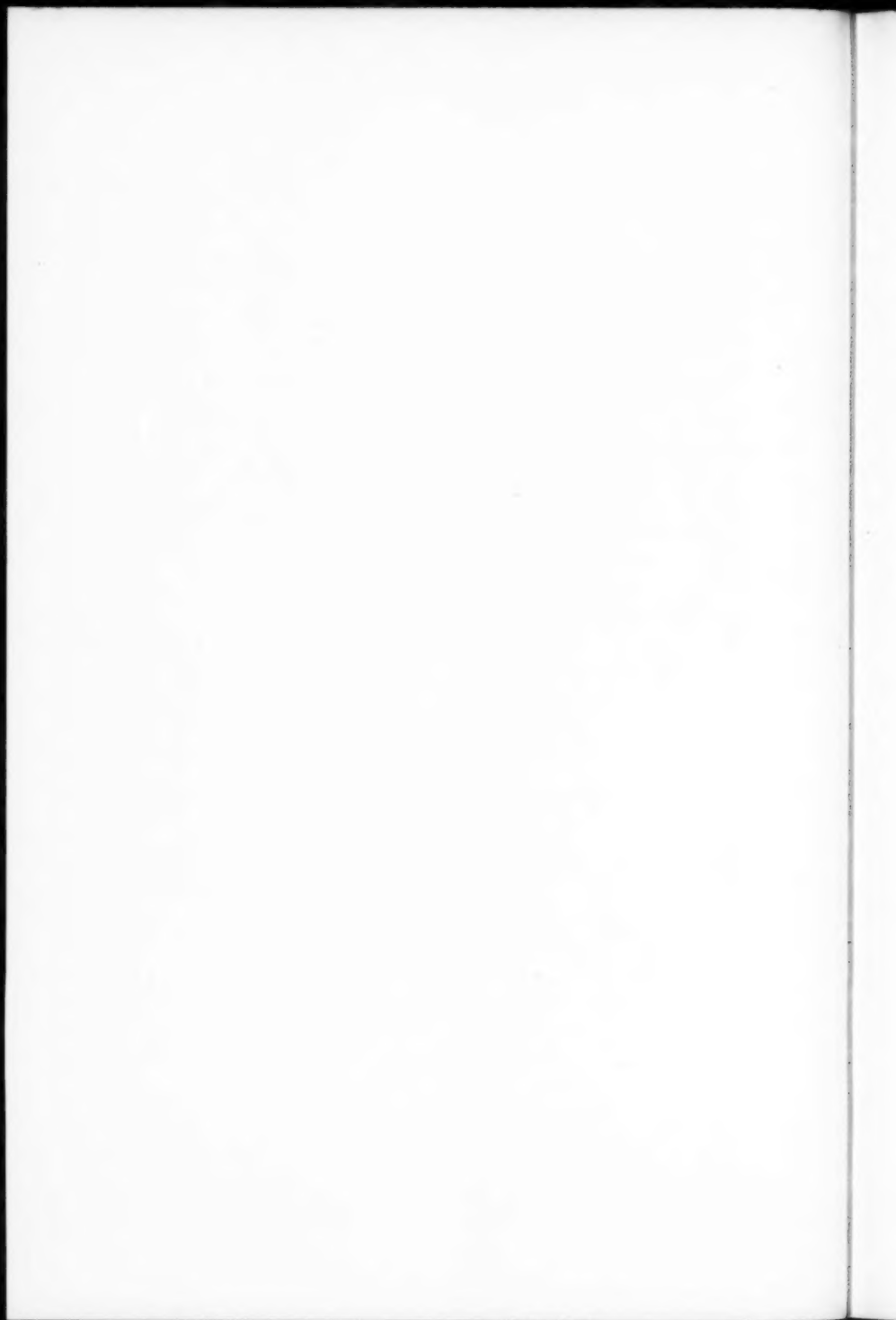


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## THE OLD SAVANNA PORTAGE

In the northeastern part of Aitkin County, Minnesota, lie two small lakes, Savanne and Wolf, distinguished in no way from thousands of other lakes which make this part of the country a paradise for hunter, fisherman, and tourist; but significant beyond all others because of the physiographic fact that here the waters of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence systems approach each other more closely than at any other place in Minnesota. It was this fact which rendered it inevitable, in the days when transportation was largely by canoe and portage, that this particular region should become the site of one of the most important portage routes in the Northwest.

From a time far back beyond the dawn of historical knowledge, there was probably a portage route between the two streams which drain Savanne and Wolf lakes. During the days of the fur trade, this route was one of the most important avenues of communication between the upper Mississippi Valley and the Great Lakes, as attested by the journals of traders, travelers, and missionaries who penetrated this region between 1763 and 1850. After the middle of the nineteenth century, however, a silence falls about it, which may be explained by the decay of the fur trade, the changing routes of transportation, the development of new markets down the great river to the south, and the beginnings of the lumber industry, which found no place in its cosmos for such things as portages. The trail fell into gradual disuse, until, so far as the general public was concerned, it was forgotten. Few, even among the residents of the region, knew its location, and of these none realized its former importance. It existed only in the pages of the chroniclers of the past and promised soon to become little more than a dim tradition.

The relocation of this historic route of trade and transportation was a challenge, and, under the guidance of Mr. Wil-

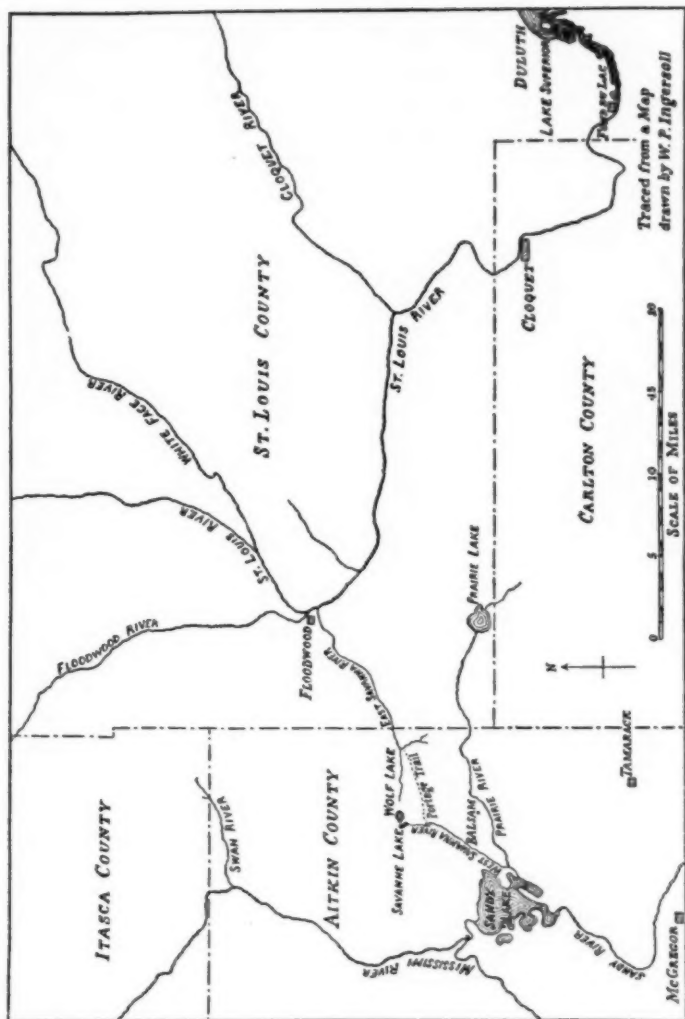
liam P. Ingersoll, without whose woodcraft and intimate knowledge of the region the successful conclusion of the undertaking would have been impossible, the attempt was made in the early fall of 1926.

It is Brower's opinion that this portage had been used by the Indians and their predecessors for centuries before the first white man set foot upon the trail. It seems reasonable to assume that it was by this route that Du Luth made his epochal journey to the upper Mississippi country in 1679.<sup>1</sup> And it is an equally reasonable assumption that it was along this trail that the first Chippewa pushed westward from their homes on Lake Superior into the territory then occupied by the Sioux around Sandy Lake.

The story of the coming of the first Chippewa to Sandy Lake has, down to the present, remained a matter of oral tradition; but, derived as it is from several separate and independent sources, it seems to be of sufficient significance to be recorded. The tale runs thus: Many years ago, when the Chippewa had their homes on Lake Superior, a brave warrior of this tribe, accompanied only by his squaw, ascended the St. Louis and East Savanna rivers, and pushed westward to the West Savanna Valley, seeking new hunting grounds. Crossing the West Savanna, the Indians continued their journey until nightfall, when the brave indicated a place for the squaw to make camp, and himself pushed on a little distance to spy out the land. Within a short time he came to an opening in the forest, across which he saw two loons swoop down in the long plunging flight which these birds make only when settling into the water. A few steps in advance, he came to the brow of a cliff, from which he looked down upon a village of the Sioux, many tepees clustered along the shore of

<sup>1</sup> Jacob V. Brower, "Prehistoric Man at the Headwaters of the Mississippi River," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8:238; Reuben G. Thwaites, "The Story of Chequamegon Bay," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 13:407.





THE SANDY LAKE AND ST. LOUIS RIVER BASINS

an island in the lake a mile or more away. Apparently the Chippewa warrior had been unaware either of the existence of the lake or of the imminent proximity of so large a body of enemies. Realizing the necessity for extreme caution to prevent his presence in the enemies' country from becoming known, he hurried back to the place where he had left his squaw. Before he could reach her, however, she had lighted a fire, and when he arrived she was engaged in preparing their evening meal. Hastily smothering the flames, the two Chippewa hurriedly began to retrace their steps; but the watchful Sioux had seen the warning smoke rising above the tree tops, and gave chase. The pursuit continued for miles, until the Sioux overtook and killed the fleeing brave. The squaw managed to conceal herself in the woods, and, eventually, after many hardships, to make her way back to her own people. And it was in seeking revenge for the death of their fellow tribesman, according to this story, that the first war party of the Chippewa came along the old trail to Sandy Lake; thus beginning the long period of conflict which was to result in the expulsion of the Sioux from the whole region, and in the permanent establishment of the Chippewa on the islands and along the shores of Sandy Lake.<sup>2</sup>

The warfare between the Chippewa and the Sioux in this region began about 1730 and continued intermittently for almost a century.<sup>3</sup> By 1750, however, the Chippewa control of the land lying between Lake Superior and Sandy Lake had been definitely and finally established. Soon after, it is probable that French traders began to make occasional incursions into the region, but thus far no record of these early journeys has been found.

<sup>2</sup> This story was told to Mr. Ingersoll by Mr. Charles Wakefield, a half-breed Chippewa, and to the writer by Mr. J. E. Murphy. Another account of the coming of the Chippewa to this general region is given by William W. Warren in his "History of the Ojibways, Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5: 157-162.

<sup>3</sup> Warren, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5: 155-193.

That by the middle of the eighteenth century the existence of a portage route from the St. Louis to the Mississippi was known to the French is evidenced by Bellin's map of North America, published in 1755, which shows the "R. du Fond du Lac," or St. Louis River and a portage from its source to "Lac Rouge," which is evidently confounded with Mille Lacs. In common with all early maps of this region, Bellin's is extremely inaccurate; but the physiography of the region makes it seem probable that the reference is to the Savanna Portage.<sup>4</sup>

Other than a somewhat obscure reference in an English military memorandum, apparently written in 1777,<sup>5</sup> the earliest references to the portage routes between Lake Superior and Sandy Lake thus far discovered are those of Jean Baptiste Perrault. Perrault wrote his narrative about 1830, evidently basing it upon diaries kept during the years of his active participation in the fur trade of the Northwest. Between 1784 and 1797, he made comparatively frequent trips back and forth from Lake Superior to Sandy Lake, of some of which he has left more or less detailed accounts. In these accounts he makes mention of two portages between the St. Louis and Sandy Lake, which he calls the "portage de la prairie" and the "portage de la savanne." From the dates given, it is evident that the former was used in the winter months and the latter in the summer.

Accompanying the narrative of Perrault are a number of maps of the regions traversed by him, sketched by himself, one of which is probably the oldest detailed map of the country between Lake Superior and Sandy Lake. This map Perrault has entitled in crude French, "Sketch map of the country from the entrance of the river Fond du Lac Superieur to penetrate to the entrance of the discharge to Lac des Sables [*Sandy Lake*] where it flows into the Mississippi, and where the posts are marked with a zero apostrophe." This map is not drawn

<sup>4</sup> A copy of Jacques N. Bellin's "Carte de L'Amerique Septentrionale," 1755, is in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>5</sup> *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 12:43.

to scale, and is naturally inaccurate in many details. It shows the St. Louis River, which Perrault styles the "Fond du Lac," with a tributary, the "riviere de la Savanne"; Prairie Lake, unnamed on the map, but called "lac de la puisse" in the narrative; Prairie River, which is likewise unnamed on the map, though Perrault calls it "riviere des prairie" in one account of the portage; and "Lac des Sables," with an unnamed stream by which the lake empties into the Mississippi. The most interesting feature of the map is the fact that two portage routes from river to river are marked by dotted lines; one from the St. Louis River directly to Prairie River just below its discharge from Prairie Lake, and the other from the East Savanna to the Prairie River farther down on its course to Sandy Lake. These two portages are marked as the "portage la prairie" and the "portage la Savanne" respectively. The location of the "portage la prairie" is further confirmed by the mark of a "zero apostrophe" (O'), by which the site of a log cabin built by Perrault in 1785 is shown near the lake out of which Prairie River flows.

From Perrault's references by name to the various physical features on the map, it would seem that they were known and named previous to his first visit to the country and that the trails were already well defined. His errors in the direction of stream flow are no more serious than those of later travelers through the region, whose opportunities for exact observation and record were at least equal to his. The fact that the map does not show the West Savanna River at all casts some doubt upon the identity of Perrault's "portage la Savanne" and the Savanna Portage of later days; but the physiography of the region between the East Savanna and Prairie rivers would seem to preclude the practicability of the use during the summer months of any other route between these two streams.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Jean Baptiste Perrault, "Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a Merchant Voyageur," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 521, 524, 530, 574, and map facing p. 519.

Another traveler who left a record of the use of this portage route was David Thompson, a Scotch surveyor in the service of the Northwest Company, who in May, 1798, descended the Mississippi to "Sand Lake River," and thence crossed the divide to Lake Superior.<sup>7</sup> Zebulon M. Pike refers only incidentally to the portage, since it was not included in his route to the sources of the Mississippi.<sup>8</sup> George Henry Monk, a clerk in the employ of the Northwest Company, writing in 1807, gives a fairly complete description of the entire route from Lake Superior to the Mississippi. He is one of the few to describe the portage who gives the correct direction of the flow of the East Savanna. Monk states that "At the west end of the portage is a small river also called *La Savanne*."<sup>9</sup>

The removal of the headquarters of the Northwest Company from Grand Portage to Fort William about 1802 and the sale in 1816 to the American Fur Company of all its posts and stocks in the territory later assigned to the United States ushered in a new era for this portage. It is to the narratives of travelers who traversed the trail between 1820 and 1855 that we owe the greater part of our present knowledge of the route of the Savanna Portage.

In 1820, Lewis Cass, then governor of Michigan Territory, which at that time included northeastern Minnesota, led an exploring expedition from Detroit to the upper Mississippi region, traveling by canoe along the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior to the head of the latter lake. From here his party ascended the St. Louis and East Savanna rivers, portaged across to the West Savanna, and thence proceeded by way of Sandy Lake and the Mississippi to Cass Lake — at the time believed to be the ultimate source of the Mississippi. Dr. Alexander Wolcott, a surgeon with the Cass party, has left a detailed description of the portage.

<sup>7</sup> David Thompson, *Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812*, 283 (Champlain Society, Publications, no. 12 — Toronto, 1916).

<sup>8</sup> Zebulon M. Pike, *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River*, 1: 321 (Coues edition, New York, 1895).

<sup>9</sup> See *ante*, 5: 34, 35.

The length of the Savannah portage is six miles, and is passed at thirteen pauses.<sup>10</sup> The first three pauses are shockingly bad. It is not only a bed of mire, but the difficulty of passing it is greatly increased by fallen trees, limbs, and sharp knots of the pitch pine, in some places on the surface, in others imbedded one or two feet below. Where there are hollows or depressions in the ground, tall coarse grass, brush, and pools of stagnant water are encountered. Old voyageurs say, that this part of the portage was formerly covered with a heavy bog, or a kind of peat, upon which the walking was very good, but that during a dry season, it accidentally caught fire and burnt over the surface of the earth so as to lower its level two or three feet when it became mirey, and subject to inundation from the Savannah river. The country, after passing the third pause, changes in a short distance, from a marsh to a region of sand hills covered mostly with white and yellow pine, intermixed with aspen. The hills are short and conical, with a moderate elevation. In some places they are drawn into ridges, but these ridges cannot be observed to run in any uniform course. . . . Where the portage approaches the sources of the West Savannah there is a descent into a small valley covered with rank grass — without forest trees — and here and there clumps of willows. . . . The valley is skirted with a thick and brushy growth of alder, aspen, hazel, &c. The adjoining hills are sandy, covered with pine. The stream here is just large enough to swim a canoe, and the navigation commences within a mile of its source. It pursues a very serpentine course to Sandy Lake, in a general direction northwest [*sic*]. . . .

. . . The river . . . receives a tributary from the south, called Ox creek, and from the point of its junction the navigation is good at all seasons, to Sandy Lake, a distance of six miles.<sup>11</sup>

Wolcott makes a peculiar error in the direction of the flow of the West Savanna, which he states flows northwest instead of southwest. If it were not for the internal evidence of the description itself and for the later account in the narrative of the Schoolcraft expedition of 1832, which followed the same route, one might conclude that the portage here described lay between the East Savanna and Prairie rivers. There is, however, no place practicable for a portage between these two

<sup>10</sup> Resting places on a portage were known as pauses or *poses*. In speaking of the length of a portage the *voyageur* referred to the number of *poses* involved.

<sup>11</sup> Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels . . . to the Sources of the Mississippi River in the Year 1820*, 221–223 (Albany, 1821).

streams at which the distance is so small as six miles. Ox Creek, which Wolcott mentions as a tributary, entering the West Savanna from the south, must in reality be Prairie River, which, just before its junction with the West Savanna, curves sharply northward. At the point of union, nowadays, the Prairie is distinctly the larger stream.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, who accompanied Cass as geologist in 1820, himself headed a second expedition to the headwaters of the Mississippi by way of the Savanna Portage in 1832. In his account of this journey, he gives a brief description of the portage, agreeing in intimate detail with Wolcott, but adding the information that for the distance of the first three *poses*, "Trees and sticks have, from time to time, been laid . . . to walk on, which it requires the skill of a balancing master to keep." <sup>12</sup>

With the Schoolcraft expedition of 1832, was Lieutenant James Allen, who in his official report describes the portage. Allen corrects Wolcott's apparent error as to the Prairie River, and is much more nearly accurate in his estimate of the distance from the junction of this stream with the West Savanna to the lake, when he says, "about a mile from Sandy lake it receives a small river from the east." To the description of the portage proper, Allen makes no significant additions. <sup>13</sup>

Another member of the Schoolcraft expedition of 1832, the Reverend William T. Boutwell, a Congregational missionary to the Indians, wrote in his diary a colorful description of the portage, from which the following is taken :

River Savannah. June 30. 1832. . . . To describe the difficulties of this portage, would puzzle a Scott, or a Knickerbocker, even. Neither language nor pencil can paint them. After making about half a pose, our baggage was landed on a wharf made of poles. A dyke was then made, and our canoes brought up through mud and water knee deep, and landed in the portage path. A few pieces were put on board, and one at the bow and another at the

<sup>12</sup> Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River*, 118 (Philadelphia, 1855).

<sup>13</sup> *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, 5: 328.

stern, the latter pushing and the former drawing in mud and water to their middle, made their way in this manner for half a mile, and unloaded on a second wharf. When all was up, a second dyke was made, which raised the water sufficient just to swim the canoes, which were loaded a second time, and carried all to another pose. Some of the gentlemen were carried across in the canoes with the baggage. Others, with myself, forced their way on foot, through mud and water. The musketoos came in hordes and threatened to carry away a man alive, our [or] devour him ere they could get him away. . . .

July 2. 1832. . . . The rain . . . has rendered the portage almost impassable for man or beast. The mud, for the greater part of the way will average ankle deep, and from that, upwards. In spots, it is difficult to find bottom—a perfect quagmire. Our men look like renegades, covered with mud from head to foot, some have lost one leg of the pantaloons, others both. Their shirts and moccasins are of a piece, full of rents and mud. Face, hands and necks, look like men scarred with the small-pox.

. . . Mangled toes and bruised legs were brought forward to the Dr. which I venture to say will long fix in mind the fatigues of this portage.

. . . . .  
Within half a mile of this end of the portage, we cross a pine ridge which seems to have escaped the ravages of fire which in past time seems to have destroyed the first growth of timber, and fell into a swamp of fine grass.<sup>14</sup>

Boutwell gives the direction of the flow of the West Savanna as northwest, as does Wolcott. The day of their departure to descend the West Savanna was, however, as he indicates, cloudy, thus giving them no opportunity to determine their course by the sun. Schoolcraft perpetuates this error in the map accompanying the narrative of the expedition of 1820. Again were it not for internal evidence and for the exact accordance of the route described with the terrain of that traced out by the writer, one might conclude that the stream then called the West Savanna was what is now known as the Prairie River.

The Reverend Edmund F. Ely, another pioneer Congregational missionary, came to Sandy Lake in 1833, where he estab-

<sup>14</sup> A copy of the Boutwell Journal, in the handwriting of J. Fletcher Williams, is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.



lished one of the first schools in Minnesota. On this trip he was accompanied by William A. Aitken, the American Fur Company trader at Sandy Lake, and Boutwell. Ely says, in his description of the portage, that at the eastern end "A very small stream runs into the Portage N. W. I should think — this stream when dammed is of sufficient depth to allow a Canoe to be drawn with  $\frac{1}{2}$  load . . . about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile[s]." <sup>15</sup> This suggests that in its first stages the eastern part of the trail may have followed the course of the rivulet by which Wolf Lake then emptied into the East Savanna. The construction of a drainage ditch in recent years, by which the waters of this lake now empty into the East Savanna, and the nature of the low-lying swamp lands through which this part of the trail runs make it impossible at the present time to determine the original course of this stream.

In 1833 William Johnston, a half-breed Chippewa in the service of a rival of the American Fur Company, wrote a very complete description of the entire route from Fond du Lac to Sandy Lake. He characterizes the first half *pose* of the Savanna Portage as "middling," and the next two *poses* as having sufficient water to allow half canoe loads to be dragged through. Continuing, Johnston writes:

Very little labour is required to make this portion passable for canoes, nothing however has been done to it since the Northwest Company[s] time, their traders had a platform made, the extent of the bog, the remnants of which still can be seen; single logs have lately been laid at the extremity, and which is very dangerous to pass, especially with loads. . . .

The remaining Eight poses were dry compared to those first passed; the land gradually rises for about four poses; and then descends; It marks the height of land from each side of which, the waters run to Lake Superior and the Mississippi.<sup>16</sup>

Joseph G. Norwood, a geologist in the service of the United States government, made a survey of this portion of Minnesota

<sup>15</sup> Ely Diaries, September 18, 1833. The originals of these diaries are in the possession of the St. Louis County Historical Society at Duluth; the Minnesota Historical Society has copies.

<sup>16</sup> William Johnston, "Letters on the Fur Trade 1833," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 37: 170-172.

in 1848. His report contains a record of his passage of the Savanna Portage, from which the following extract is taken.

On the 24th of June, we left Sandy Lake for Lake Superior, by the route over which the Fur Companies have transported their goods toward the far northwestern posts for many years past.

. . . In winter, and occasionally in summer, the Indians, passing from Sandy Lake to Fond du Lac, follow this [*Prairie*] river to its source, and then, by a portage of twelve miles, reach St. Louis River, a few miles below the mouth of the East Savannah River. The distance to Fond du Lac by this route is considerably less than by the Savannah Rivers. In summer, however, the swamps about the head of *Prairie* River are almost impassable, and then the line of travel is the same as the one pursued by us.

. . . The east end of the portage, for the distance of a mile and a half, runs through a tamerack swamp, which was flooded with water, and next to impassable. It is generally considered the worst "carrying place" in the Northwest, and, judging from the great number of canoes which lie decaying along this part of it, having been abandoned in consequence of the difficulty experienced in getting them over, its reputation is well deserved.

East Savannah River, where the portage strikes it, is about five yards wide. It comes from the northwest, and turning a short distance below the portage, pursues a general northeasterly direction to its junction with St. Louis River.<sup>17</sup>

A late reference to the use of the Savanna Portage is that in a letter written in 1855 by the Reverend Samuel Spates, who conducted a Methodist mission for the Indians of Sandy Lake in the forties and fifties.<sup>18</sup>

Chambers, who visited the region in 1872, writes:

We slept that night at the mouth of Sandy Lake River, upon the floor of Mr. Libby's historic trading post. "Libby's" has been known for three generations as the point of portage for the "Big Sea Water" (Lake Superior), reached by descending the turbulent St. Louis River.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Joseph G. Norwood, "Geological Report of a Survey of Portions of Wisconsin and Minnesota," in David Dale Owen, *Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota*, 300 (Philadelphia, 1852).

<sup>18</sup> Samuel Spates to Jabez Brooks, March 8, 1855, Spates Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>19</sup> Julius Chambers, *The Mississippi River and Its Wonderful Valley*, 169 (New York and London, 1910).

Chambers did not make the portage trip himself, and spoke of it merely from hearsay. One might conclude from what he says that the route was still more or less in use at that time.

It was with this information in hand, gleaned from historical sources, that in the summer of 1926 a trip was planned by the writer and Mr. Ingersoll, for many years a resident on or near Sandy Lake, in the effort to relocate the route of the old Savanna Portage.<sup>20</sup> The historical data were supplemented by interviews with old residents of the locality. The most helpful information was secured from Mr. C. A. Maddy and Mr. J. E. Murphy, both of McGregor, and indirectly from Mr. George Wakefield of Swan River. Both Mr. Maddy and Mr. Murphy were in earlier years timber cruisers and had covered in their wanderings practically every bit of country around Sandy Lake. Both had seen and crossed the old trail many times, and Mr. Murphy was able to locate it on the map with a fair degree of accuracy. Mr. Wakefield's information came to us at second-hand. He was reported to have said that fifty years

<sup>20</sup> In addition to the examples cited in this paper, there are on record several instances of the use of the Savanna Portage by other travelers. In order to reach their posts on Sandy Lake and Leech Lake, missionaries seem to have used the portage frequently. Thus J. P. Bardwell made the trip in 1843, Mrs. Lucy M. Lewis in 1844, and John H. Pitezel in 1849, and all three have left records of their experiences. Newton H. Winchell, with two companions, crossed the portage in 1878 while making a canoe trip for the Minnesota Geological Survey through the lakes of northeastern Minnesota. *Oberlin Evangelist*, 6: 61 (April 10, 1844); Lucy M. Lewis to James R. Wright, May 29, 1844, Dr. William Lewis Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society; John H. Pitezel, *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life*, 210-212 (Cincinnati, 1883); Newton H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota*, 589 (St. Paul, 1911).

Attention may be called to the fact that the portage trail is indicated on a manuscript map of the Northwest by John Dutton, dated 1814, and on one of a section of northeastern Minnesota prepared in 1870 by Alfred J. Hill for Charles H. Baker. The Minnesota Historical Society owns the original of the second map and a photostatic copy of the first, the original of which is in the archives of the Province of Ontario at Toronto. The trail is shown in detail on a map of Aitkin County by Warren Upham, in the Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, *Final Report*, 1900, vol. 6, plate 57. As here given, the route differs slightly from that indicated on Mr. Ingersoll's map (*post*, p. 131). *Ed.*

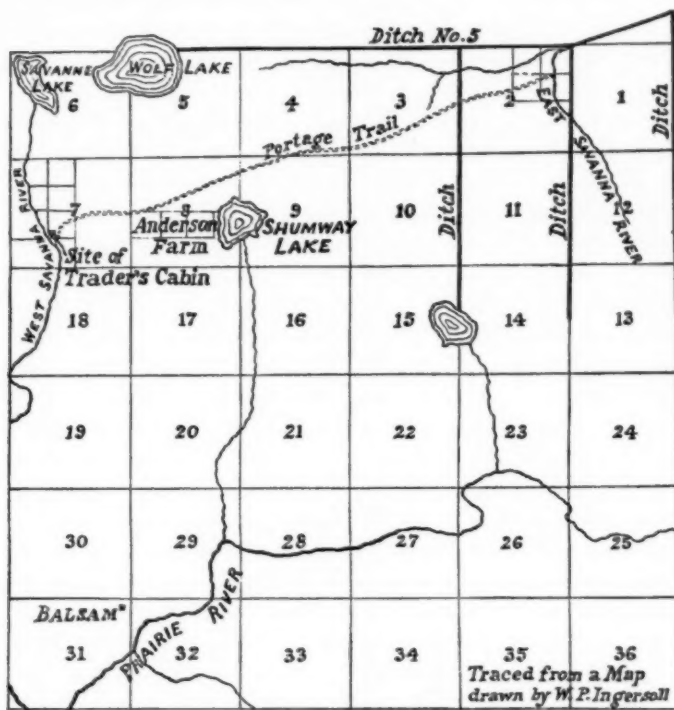
ago, when he was a small boy, his father had carried him the full length of the trail from river to river. His exact description of the location of the west end of the trail enabled us, after one failure, to discover the point at which the portage enters the valley of the West Savanna.

The continual rains of August and September delayed our departure, and compelled us to abandon an earlier project of packing in our supplies and tentage on foot from a point on State Highway Number 5, north of Sandy Lake, to Savanne Lake at the head of the West Savanna River. Fearing that the rivers that we should have to cross would be overflowed to such an extent that it would be impracticable to cross them, we finally elected to proceed by automobile around the south end of Sandy Lake, following the forest roads as far as possible, and then to strike out on foot toward our objective.

Our equipment included the best maps of the portage region that we were able to obtain, of which the most serviceable proved to be the United States engineers' map of the Sandy Lake basin and the township maps based upon the government surveys. From the latter, it appeared probable that the west end of the trail was located somewhere in section 7, township 50 north, range 22 west, as Mr. Murphy had informed us. Wolf Lake is shown for the most part in sections 5 and 6. Mr. Murphy had told us, and the map confirmed his statement, that along the north line of township 50 a drainage ditch had been constructed, with laterals extending southward between sections 2 and 3 and sections 1 and 2. In the office of the secretary of state at St. Paul the writer found later, on his return trip, a map made in 1874 which showed by a dotted line the eastern half of the portage trail.<sup>21</sup> It would seem probable that at the

<sup>21</sup> The original township plats made by the government surveyors are in the office of the secretary of state at St. Paul. The surveyor's field notes contain a number of references to the trail; for example in the description of the line between sections 2 and 3 there is a notation, "cross trail bearing E. & W." The dotted line indicating the trail on the plat ends just west of the section line between sections 4 and 5, and the field notes mention a trail bearing north.

time when the original township surveys were made in this region, the eastern part of the trail was discovered; while, either because of lack of interest or because its route was already more or less obliterated, the western part of the portage was left unmarked.



THE ROUTE OF THE SAVANNA PORTAGE,  
TOWNSHIP 50 NORTH, RANGE 22 WEST

We left Sandy Lake Tuesday noon, October 5, with the minimum of supplies necessary for several days, intending, if the trip took longer than this, to live upon the country. Our first stop was at a cabin east of the lake. Here we were fortu-

nate enough to find two forest rangers, from whom we received information regarding roads that ultimately saved us miles of useless travel. On their advice, we went on by way of Tam-arack, and thence north and west to Balsam post office. From the latter place onward, the road we followed was one of the original ones laid out when the country was new, winding in and out over and around sand hills and through cut-over forests of poplar, birch, and oak.

We finally reached the clearing of a man named Larson, an old settler in the region, from whom we hoped to secure some further information about the trail. These hopes proved to be vain. Mr. Larson, although he has lived here for some twenty-five years, had heard of the trail but had never seen it. He questioned our ability to find it at all, but he did give us at least the information that there were two other settlers, named Anderson and Thompson, either of whose places we could reach before dark. He also told us that there was a lumber camp at the west end of Wolf Lake where we might find lodging for the night.

Despite this somewhat discouraging experience, we pushed on, past the road leading eastward toward Anderson's clearing, into the big woods. Here the road became merely two deep ruts, winding endlessly through heavy timber and made infinitely worse by the constant rains of the past weeks. In order to make progress at all at times, it was necessary to dig and fill and push; but the horse power of the "dependable light car," supplemented by man power, enabled us to keep going. The clouds had begun to break away by now, and the sun, hanging low in the west, was beginning to cast long and ominous shadows which made one think with anything but pleasure of the prospect of spending the night in the rain-soaked woods. At length, however, we came upon a pole gate in a wire fence, indicating the proximity of a clearing, and half a mile farther on we sighted through the trees the roofs of several buildings. A few moments later we came out upon the lumber camp, situated just below Thompson's clearing at the west end of Wolf Lake.

We found the lumber camp in charge of a man named Roe, a likeable young fellow, an ex-service man, who with his wife and three small children makes his year-round home in this lonesome spot. Mr. Roe welcomed us cordially, as do all of these remote settlers when they meet strangers, and offered us the use of the bunk house and its facilities. He explained that his supplies of "grub" were running low, as he went into town but once a month; but he said that we could have all the "spuds" we wanted, and that his wife could let us have some bread.

The bunk house was a rough board shack with three windows, two of which were broken, and it contained an old heating stove, evidently salvaged from some deserted cabin or lumber camp, as it had plainly been exposed to the weather for a good many years. With the assistance of two strands of barbed wire, it managed to maintain a precarious equilibrium; it was piled full of fuel to which Mr. Roe touched a match, and immediately it began to give off a heat which was thrice welcome to the two mud-bespattered explorers. Without further consideration, we accepted the invitation to camp there, spread our bed roll on one of the double bunks, hung blankets over the two broken windows, and proceeded to get our supper.

After supper, we went up to Mr. Thompson's and got what information he had with reference to the trail. He said that he was sure that we could find the east part where it crossed the drainage ditch; but he knew nothing of the west part, and doubted our ability to trace it out beyond the tamarack swamp (the east two miles of the trail), where he said it was still plainly visible. From Mr. Roe, however, although he is a newcomer, we received some information as to the west end of the trail and the location of the old fur company camp on the West Savanna. This he had from Mr. George Wakefield, a timber cruiser for the Wooden Ware camp, a few miles north of Wolf Lake.

We went to bed early in preparation for the strenuous work of the next day. The skies were clear and the stars were shining by bedtime, a faint but often futile promise of fair weather.



Away off in the woods, we heard the occasional howl of a brush wolf. This and the sougning of the wind through the trees, the stamping of the camp horses in the barn near by, and the scurry of the mice in the sawdust-packed walls of the bunk house furnished the music that lulled us to slumber.

Wednesday morning dawned bright and clear, with the first sunrise that had been visible for weeks, promise of the fair weather that was to stay with us till the end of our trip. After breakfast, we started out to find the site which Mr. Roe had described as that of the old camp at the west end of the trail. We found without difficulty a place in the beautiful little valley of the West Savanna where the stream turns its course from the southeast to the southwest toward Sandy Lake, plainly, both from observation and from the map, its most eastern point. Along the eastern edge of the valley, at the foot of a steep hill, stand the remains of a number of log buildings, which we later learned are what is left of an old lumber camp. At the south end of this row of ruins, we found a well-defined trail climbing the ridge to the eastward. No other trail having been revealed by our search, we decided that this must be the one we were looking for and started out to follow it.

The course of this trail, which we followed for several miles, was clearly marked for the eyes of a woodsman by blazes — some of them very old — on the trees. As we went on, however, both the sun and the compass showed us that we were bearing a little south of east, whereas the portage trail was supposed to run north of east throughout the greater part of its course. Finally we were forced to the conclusion that we had taken the wrong route and that what we were following must be an old logging road. As the trail we were seeking ran somewhere to the north, we struck out across country through the dense woods, past a beautiful little lake tucked away out of sight so far from civilization that it has neither name nor place on the maps, until at length we came in sight of a clearing which proved to be Anderson's on Shumway Lake.

Mr. Anderson told us that there was an old trail running northeastwardly through the woods north of his place, which



was said to be the old "Hudson Bay Trail." We found this trail less than half a mile from Anderson's clearing, and followed it until we came upon another clearing, in which stood a deserted cabin and a log stable. Here we lost the trail entirely. After circling the clearing several times without finding where the trail led out eastward, we struck off through the woods, going northeast in a blind search for it. For some time our efforts were unrewarded, but within a few minutes after a brief pause for lunch — supplemented by coffee boiled over a fire of birch-bark, and served on plates cut from the same convenient tree — Mr. Ingersoll discovered the trail again. This part is so completely overgrown with brush that none but an experienced woodsman could ever have found it. From this point on, however, it became increasingly easy to follow. The larger trees have all been lumbered off years ago, with the exception of an occasional oak or birch; but here and there along the trail we found blazes, often almost obliterated by the passage of time, but still discernible. We kept on the course until, according to expectation based on the old descriptions of the trail, it descended into a tamarack swamp. From here on, the going was difficult to say the least. In the old days, this part of the trail was known as "the worst carrying-place in the northwest," and years of neglect have not served to improve it. The way lay clear before us, a well-marked path through the wilderness of swamp, but rendered almost impassable at times by fallen trees and sink holes. The only thing which made it possible for us to make our way at all was the fact that occasionally in the worst places we found, embedded in the morass a few inches below the surface, tamarack poles running lengthwise of the trail. Had this been an old logging road, these poles would have been laid crosswise to form a corduroy road. This discovery was all that was needed to convince us that we were actually following the original trail of the portage, as our notes indicated that the fur companies had laid poles lengthwise of the trail to make passage possible. These tamarack poles buried beneath the marsh mud will, so we were told, last for a hundred years. It may be that some of the poles which

saved us from sinking in the mire are the ones of which Schoolcraft speaks, when he says, "Trees and sticks have, from time to time, been laid . . . to walk on, which it requires the skill of a balancing master to keep." Schoolcraft was right.

After a mile or more of the trail through the tamarack swamp, we came out suddenly upon the lateral drainage ditch between sections 2 and 3, for which our maps had led us to look. Here a bridge led across the ditch to a high and dry road leading off to the north. According to the map, we were within less than three-quarters of a mile of the eastern end of the trail, so we decided to take the easy way around the rest of the swamp by way of the ditch roads. Half a mile north we struck the main ditch with a good road running eastward along its southern edge. These ditch roads are now mere paths which run along the tops of the dikes thrown up by the steam shovels used in constructing the ditches some years ago. The original intention seems to have been to build roads along these dikes, but the hopes and money expended in the attempt to drain the swamps have proved profitless. The land is still hopeless swamp, and so far as anyone can now see will always remain so.

Then, too, on the heels of the human engineers who laid out and constructed these works, have come some natural engineers whose work has gone to undo that of man. At the north end of the lateral ditch, we ran on to the first of twelve beaver dams built across the ditch, which have served to raise the level of the water until, in the upper course of the ditch, it overflows all of the surrounding forest land. We saw thousands of stumps from which these busy little engineers had cut the timber for their dams and houses, some of the cuttings being so fresh and the abandoned sticks lying on the bank so plainly ready to be hauled down the slides into the water, that we believed that we had actually interrupted their operations by our approach. It takes time and patience to get an opportunity to see beavers at work. As we were miles from camp and

the sun was already beginning its downward course, this privilege we had perforce to forego.

Along the eastward course of the big ditch, we traveled until we came to a hay meadow, through the middle of which flowed a winding stream which we recognized as the East Savanna. At the southwest side of the meadow on the west side of the stream were the remains of an old hay camp, and here we struck the portage trail again. We followed this westward until we came in sight of the first lateral ditch upon which we had come in our earlier eastward trek. This completed the tracing out of more than two-thirds of the trail, and all the worst part of it. Retracing our steps to the main ditch, we proceeded westward, covering the five miles that lay between the East Savanna and the east end of Wolf Lake by five o'clock. As we had neither a boat nor means of communication with the Thompsons, our only choice of a route back to camp was to skirt the north shore of the lake to our destination. This last two-mile stretch was the worst of the day. There was no semblance of a trail, not even a game trail, to follow. The way led through an absolute jungle of tangled underbrush over rotting trees, fallen and half-buried in the mire and covered with moss. One small stream, we had to bridge. At last, just at sundown, we came out at Thompson's clearing, having covered more than twenty miles on foot since morning, under conditions as difficult, so far as the going was concerned, as those described by the early chroniclers of the portage. We were duly thankful, however, that we were not burdened as were the men of that early day with the heavy packs which it was their task to carry.

The next morning we broke camp and started back. Mr. George Wakefield had visited the lumber camp during our absence and had left even more exact information regarding the western end of the trail. With this added help and the personal assistance of Mr. Roe, we were able to locate with reasonable certainty the site of the fur company camp on a little knoll

just above the bend of the West Savanna. Our investigations here were very casual. A few spadefuls of earth turned up nothing more interesting than a carved bear's tooth, part of some Indian ornament; but we feel sure that further careful search on this site should prove profitable.

Our search for the western part of the trail, which we had missed the day before, proved equally successful. Our difficulty had been that we had failed to note the fact that the road to Anderson's clearing runs for a mile or so along the old trail, except at the extreme western end where the old trail crosses a swamp which the later road avoids. We followed the road to the place where the original trail branches off to the north, and thence on to the point at which we had picked it up the day before. This ended our search, and we returned to Sandy Lake with the satisfaction that accompanies the successful conclusion of a worthy undertaking.

The first four miles from the western end of the trail are comparatively high and dry. Its general course is north of east, proceeding in a fairly direct line except where it veers to the one side or the other to avoid the ascent of one of the many hills that characterize the region. One who travels this trail can see how every natural advantage was taken to make the route as easy as possible for burdened men. As Mr. Ingersoll frequently remarked, after we had finally located the trail, "You see, it couldn't have gone anywhere else." The timber for the first part of the trail is poplar and hardwood, with many old pine slashings. Some birch and oak trees from seventy to a hundred years old were seen, but most of the valuable timber has been cut off. For the last two miles, the way lies through a tamarack swamp. There is in general a gradual slope to the eastward. The trail is marked by old blazes and a number of later ones, evidence of its use in part as a logging road in comparatively recent times. It is from one to two yards wide in places, but elsewhere is little more than a narrow path, particularly where it passes through the tamarack swamp.

Some means should be found to mark permanently this historic trail. There are no present evidences of forest fires having swept through this region, but as such a catastrophe may occur at any time, there is danger that the exact location may be lost entirely. While it can still be traced throughout its course, an effort should be made to mark for future generations the location of this ancient highway, for it brings back vividly the romantic days when it was an important trade route from the Mississippi Valley to the markets of the East.

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## THE ENGLISH COLONY AT FAIRMONT IN THE SEVENTIES<sup>1</sup>

On February 26, 1875, I left Liverpool on board the Cunard steamship "Java." Some friends who lived in Chicago were also sailing by her. I was going to see some land which my father had bought on speculation. He had heard that there was a great future in store for Minnesota. We had a very bad voyage, which lasted over fourteen days. The winter of 1875 was severe, and we arrived in New York with the decks slippery with ice and the riggings festooned with icicles. Our appearance was so unusual that pictures of the ship appeared in the illustrated papers.

<sup>1</sup> The author of the present article is an Englishman who now lives in London. In 1876 he joined the English colony that had been established three years earlier in the vicinity of Fairmont, Martin County, Minnesota, and he remained there until 1883, when he returned to England. Some time ago the Minnesota Historical Society, while searching for historical materials relating to the Martin County colony, was given the name of Mr. Moro, and the article herewith printed is his generous reply to a letter of inquiry concerning his Minnesota experiences. The notes that follow have been supplied by Miss Bertha L. Heilbron, research assistant on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

In 1872 H. F. Sherman, the promoter of the Martin County colony, secured railway lands south of Fairmont on which to settle the colonists and in 1873 he brought out the first installment of settlers. The English colonists hoped to make Martin County a center for bean-growing. "They at once began to break land for a crop and used a great many teams, and began to do business on a scale surprising to our people, from 50 to 100 teams being employed in breaking," writes William H. Budd in his *History of Martin County*, 90 (Fairmont, 1897). A carload of beans was shipped out from Brockport, the New York "bean center," which Sherman had previously visited, and it is estimated that more than a thousand acres were planted. In the locust invasions of 1873 and 1874 the bean gardens were ravaged. Of the first invasion Budd writes, "In 24 hours it is estimated that there was not a bean stalk left." Though the fields were replanted, it was late in the season and the crops were caught by early frosts. The promoter established an office in England for securing recruits for the colony and large accessions came out in July, 1874. Again the locusts did great damage to the crops in the vicinity of Fairmont. The author of the

After seeing acquaintances in New York and in Chicago, I proceeded westward. At that time there was no bridge across the Mississippi River to connect the railroad at La Crosse, in Wisconsin, with the Southern Minnesota Railway. I crossed the river on the ice in an open sleigh at 5:00 A. M., a bitterly cold wind blowing and the temperature below zero.

The terminus of the Southern Minnesota Railway was then at Winnebago City, in Faribault County. We reached it towards evening. "City" was a euphonious appellation for a limited village of wooden houses. After a night spent in a most elementary hotel, I took the stage for Fairmont. The stagecoach consisted of an open wagon on runners, as the ground was covered with frozen snow. It took considerably more than half a day to run the twenty miles — for the stage carried the mails, which had to be delivered here and there on the way, and the horses had to be rested. The prairie between Winnebago City and Fairmont is undulating, but there are hardly any steep hills.

On reaching Fairmont I discovered that it was indeed a very small village, much smaller than Winnebago City. All the present account takes up the story in 1875 and gives an interesting picture of the conditions in the English colony after that date.

Maurice Farrar, an Englishman who lived in the state in the late seventies, devotes a chapter to the Fairmont colony in his volume entitled *Five Years in Minnesota*, 67-90 (London, 1880). He discusses at some length the sports of the transplanted Britons, who brought with them many of the customs of the homeland. "One young Englishman," he relates, "keeps a small pack of foxhounds at his own expense, and a large 'field' is sure to be attracted by the 'meets.'" Among the horses "there is, now and then, a suspicion of having seen some of them in front of a plough or hitched up to a farm waggon, yet it is presumed by a polite fiction that every gentleman 'keeps his hunter.' Red coats (made of flannel by the village tailoress!) are de rigueur; and a sprinkling of ladies comes out on fine days, among whom are one or two capital horse-women, who don't want a 'lead' over a fence." Farrar declares that at the state fair of 1878 the "'Britishers,' in their red coats and top-boots, flying amid clouds of blinding dust over four-foot hurdles, divided the honours with President Hayes and the celebrated trotter Rarus, who did his mile in 2 min. 13½ sec." These Britishers were hailed in the newspapers of 1878 as the "Fairmont Sportsmen."

buildings were frame ones, except the court house, which was made of logs. There were two or three stores, the chief one being a general store kept by Messrs. Ward and Cadwell. There was also a firm of lawyers, Messrs. Ward and Blaisdell. Humphrey M. Blaisdell had served, when a youth, in the Civil War. He had been wounded and had spent many months in Libby prison. His wife was the daughter of Senator Crosby of Maine. She was a graduate of Vassar College.<sup>2</sup> A friendship with them and their family commenced then, which has stood the test of all these years.

Although the land was covered with snow, I found that the scenery was very beautiful. A chain of sixty lakes, which were fringed with trees and shrubs, passed through Martin County. Fairmont was situated on the banks of one of them. I was told that much land had been bought by Englishmen who were expected to arrive, with their families, during the spring and summer months. At that time Fairmont which had been built up along the shores of Lake Sisseton was about the length of the lake. I bought a well-wooded village lot on the banks of that lake. I was greatly attracted by its beauty, especially during the glorious prairie sunsets which were reflected upon the frozen lake and frosted trees. I spent several months in various parts of the United States and then returned to England.

In the summer of 1876 my parents and their five children went to Fairmont. The change that had taken place during my absence was remarkable. The beauty of the district in summer was still more striking. The village was lively with farmers' teams and pedestrians.

<sup>2</sup> Reuben M. Ward and A. D. Cadwell were the pioneer merchants of Fairmont; Ward's younger brother, Albert L. Ward, was associated with Humphrey M. Blaisdell in a law firm until 1874, when he withdrew to establish the Martin County Bank. Sketches of the careers of these early American settlers of Fairmont may be found in the *Memorial Record of the Counties of Faribault, Martin, Watonwan and Jackson, Minnesota*, 9-18, 156-158 (Chicago, 1895). According to a sketch in this volume, Mrs. Blaisdell was educated at Antioch College.



In 1874 there had been a serious visitation of locusts which had impoverished many of the settlers. The government had supplied some relief and much seed grain. Things were improving and the farmers came in to sell produce and to make purchases. Many English families had arrived and houses were being rapidly constructed. We built one on the lovely lot which I had purchased.

Among the English families with whom we became acquainted were Mr. and Mrs. Percy Wollaston, who came from near Liverpool. They had a large family of twelve or fourteen children.<sup>3</sup> They were refined, educated people, and so were many of the other English families, notably the Thirwell and the Ramsdale families.<sup>4</sup> John Thirwell was a nephew of the late Bishop Thirwell. He, too, had a large family. They settled on land some few miles north of Fairmont.<sup>5</sup> They brought

<sup>3</sup> Percy Wollaston first visited Fairmont to examine the country and buy land and then returned to England for his family. With his wife and thirteen children he settled permanently in Fairmont in the summer of 1876. From the first, he was prominently identified with the life of the new settlement, and in 1878, when the village was incorporated, he was elected its first president. A number of the English settlers became interested in politics, according to Farrar. He records that "Englishmen 'run for office' as eagerly as any true-born Yankee. One is president of the village council; another is a justice of the peace; a burly young ex-lieutenant R. N. is village marshal; while another young gentleman, whose position at home was behind a counter, aspired here to parliamentary honours." Budd, *Martin County*, 104, 109, 111; *Memorial Record*, 43-47; Farrar, *Five Years in Minnesota*, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Farrar comments upon the fact that the Fairmont settlers were superior to the usual English immigrants in culture and refinement. "There are, of course, many English colonies in the States, but they are mainly composed of the class of English labourers," he writes. "The colony at Fairmont prides itself on being, on the whole, a colony of gentlemen. . . . Oxford and Cambridge are each represented by a graduate. There are officers of all branches of the service. . . . Among the ladies are a Bavarian countess and an Austrian baroness, who hold brevet rank among their English sisters." *Five Years in Minnesota*, 80.

<sup>5</sup> John Thirwell seems to have returned to England, but some members of his family appear to have remained in Martin County. The population schedule of Fraser Township, just northwest of Fairmont, for 1885 includes a family of Thirlwalls consisting of six members—three, aged

with them a considerable number of books from the bishop's library. The Ramsdales, with many children, settled on the banks of a large lake, a little south of our village. Among the other settlers about whom I remember were a young married couple, a Mr. and Mrs. Holcombe and one of Mr. Holcombe's brothers; Mr. and Mrs. R. M. Caffall with several children; Captain Whirland of the British navy and his family; and Mr. and Mrs. H. Perrin and several children. Then there were also a good many single young men, namely: Captain Bellairs, Harry W. Sinclair, Percy Sinclair, H. M. Searle, A. G. T. Broun, Cecil Sharpe, Lieutenant Clement Royds and several more. As the years went by many marriages took place among the younger members of these early English settlers.<sup>6</sup>

thirty, twenty-six, and sixteen, born in England; and three, aged twenty-seven, four, and two, born in Minnesota. These might well have been three children of John Thirwell and the American wife and two children of the eldest son. The manuscript schedules of the state census of 1885, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, contain the names of numerous English settlers in and around Fairmont, including many of the individuals mentioned by Mr. Moro.

<sup>6</sup> Many of the names here mentioned by Mr. Moro are to be found in a list given by Budd of British families that arrived in 1876. "The English additions this spring," he writes, "were: Percy Wollaston and family, Joseph Ramsdale and family, R. M. Cafall and family, C. Popple and family, Mr. Bishop and family, Mr. Holden and family, John Thirwall and family, Mr. Jones, L. Burton, John Lock, F. Townsend, H. W. Sinclair, J. W. Sinclair, and Capt. Wherland and family and C. Royds. . . . I think G. G. Mayne and Capt. Turner came later." After some further comments the author remarks that "the English settlers were added to by G. D. Moro, H. Perrin, Arthur Moro and others." K. F. F. Bellairs and family, Captain Bellairs and family, and Cecil Sharpe were among the English settlers who arrived in 1874, according to Budd. H. M. Searle, who was born in India, became route manager for the stage line between Fairmont and Winnebago City in 1877, when Lieutenant Royds purchased a half interest in the line. Budd, *Martin County*, 101, 105, 109; population schedule, census of Martin County, 1885.

The marriages among the members of the English colony are of interest. Cecil Sharpe, Clement Royds, Henry W. Sinclair, John A. Sinclair, and A. G. T. Broun of Sherburn each married a daughter of Percy Wollaston; and three of the latter's sons married daughters of Joseph Ramsdale. *Memorial Record*, 44.

Streams of American pioneers passed along the prairie tracks and through Fairmont. It was a time of pioneer settlement on virgin land. They came with caravans of carts known as prairie schooners. A prairie schooner was a roomy wagon covered with arched waterproof material colored a gray white or a dull red. It was drawn by two or sometimes three horses or mules or oxen. These wagons contained the furniture, goods, and possessions of the settlers. The women and children often sat in them when they were tired. The men walked by the horses' heads. Most of the pioneers brought with them extra horses and much cattle, also many dogs. Some of these men were by no means impecunious. They had been successful small farmers further east, who were tempted to sell their improved farms at high prices and to move westward where land was still very cheap or could even be preëmpted for nothing. They usually had large families of sturdy children, and they had hopes to possess farms of many acres.

There was excellent sport in and around Fairmont. The prairies abounded in game — prairie chickens, sandhill cranes, wild geese, wild ducks, and some rabbits and hares. There were also many small birds. Of these there was a great variety. Their colorings — red, blue, green, or yellow — were most attractive. So were their songs. But these gentle and beautiful little birds were gradually driven away by the more sturdy, quarrelsome, voracious, combative, and ugly sparrows. Sparrows move westward with the current of migration and the resultant cultivation of virgin soil. Wolves, skunks, snakes, and huge mosquitoes were not lacking. The lakes were full of fish. Turtles — snapping variety — were often seen. As far as I can remember, the fish were perch, bass, and a large type of buffalo fish. In the summer there was great sport in spear-fishing as they sped through the inlets and outlets of the chain of about sixty lakes which commenced in Minnesota and ran southward into Iowa. Fish are attracted by artificial light. It was usual, when fishing at night time, to go two in a boat with a lantern hung out at the stern or on one side. One man rowed

slowly, the other stood, spear in hand. The fish would rise to the surface to look at the light and to ascertain the cause of such strange happenings. It required skill and practice to throw a spear so as to keep one's balance and yet to pierce the fish as they flashed by. In the winter months fish could be caught by cutting an opening in the ice. The thickness of the ice varied from two or three up to even twelve inches, according to the severity of the winter. A lantern held over the opening would bring the fish to the surface. During the winter months there was much skating and sailing in ice boats.

It was remarkable how quickly a town increased in size in those days of immigration. Martin County was being occupied and developed not only by American and English settlers. Strong and useful immigrants came from Norway, Sweden, and Germany. They were excellent types of farmers.<sup>7</sup> Hardy, industrious, and thrifty, they bore well the intense severity of a semi-arctic winter and the considerable heat in summer. They faced with courage the hardships and privations attached to pioneering.

The value of land increased; an extension of the railway to Fairmont seemed imminent; the crops were excellent; and all promised well; when suddenly there alighted in the autumn a vast cloud of winged locusts. They covered the land. They immediately laid their eggs, enclosed in minute rubber-like pouches, deep into the ground. Then they died. The soil was full of these eggs. A panful of earth placed by a hot stove and kept there for a few days as a test soon proved what must be encountered when summer came. Gradually the earth in the pan seemed alive with tiny, jumping grasshoppers. It was,

<sup>7</sup> The number of English settlers in Martin County never was very large. In 1880, when the English colony was at its height, out of a total population of 5,249, only 219 were natives of England and Wales. The foreign population of Martin County in that year included 234 from Sweden and Norway, 178 from Germany, 177 from British America, 86 from Ireland, 39 from Denmark, 24 from Scotland, and 7 from France. *United States Census, 1880, Population, 515.*

I think, in 1877 that the locusts hatched out in millions. They did not develop wings for some time, but they ate up everything that was tender and green, stripping even the leaves off the trees. Then they commenced to move, all in one direction, northward, in search of food. They increased in size rapidly. Farmers who had experience of the previous visitation four years before dug trenches round their vegetable gardens and burnt hay or twigs in them all day long. The locusts either avoided the trenches or swarmed into them and were burned. The armies of locusts rested on their march during the night but recommenced it as soon as dawn came. Another method employed to save vegetables was to make what were called hopperdozers. They were huge trays of sheet iron with iron backs and sides about a foot high. This implement was coated with tar and was dragged along the ground by means of ropes pulled by two men. As soon as the tar was thick with locusts, it was scraped off with spades and burned. This process had to be kept on without pause all day long until dusk. By such means small patches of gardens could be protected, but acres of crops and trees could not be safeguarded. Gradually the locusts seemed to be everywhere. They even got into the houses and onto one's clothes. Chickens found them to their taste. The fowls ate so many that we could not eat them nor their eggs owing to the strange and repugnant flavor in both. This devastation lasted, if I remember rightly, about a fortnight and then, when the locusts were one and a half to two inches in size, they developed wings. The wings were a transparent white, but the locusts varied in color. Some were of a yellowish red, and some of darker tones. Suddenly one day as if by word of command, they all rose and flew to a great height. The sun was shining brightly, and their long white wings glistered in the light. Their numbers were so enormous that they looked like a snowstorm bathed in sunshine. The question was anxiously asked, where would they alight, lay more eggs, and cause fresh devastation and suffering? Providentially, their flight took the direction of the Great Lakes, many, many

miles away. They must have tired when immediately over them, for they were drowned by millions and their bodies lined the shores.<sup>8</sup>

This plague caused much disappointment and misery. The settlers who depended upon the sale of their crops to pay interest upon mortgages and to live upon until another year's crop could be harvested, made sad losses. Some of the farms and homes had to be abandoned. But the courage under adversity of both men and women was admirable. Relief was sent from many parts of the United States. Farms were again seeded with grain supplied by the government, but with grave misgivings that perhaps some of the locusts had not been drowned in the lakes and that they might return. Happily they never did return.

In a year's time the railroad reached Martin County. Building increased rapidly, crops were more easily marketed, and prosperity came to the sorely tried settlers. I was instrumental in starting the first cheese factory in Martin County. Reuben Ward became the chairman. The idea was to run the business on coöperative lines. The profits were to be divided among the shareholders and the farmers who brought in milk daily. The milk was paid for at a given price when it was delivered. The milk owner was then credited with having supplied so many measures of milk. At the end of the season the profits were divided. The cheese was really excellent, but the profits were not in proportion to the work which this system entailed, although I, and several others, had given secretarial work gratuitously in order to start the industry. A manager and a small staff had had to be employed. After they were paid the surplus was not sufficiently large for wide distribution. The factory and plant were sold and were run as a private concern. The purchaser bought the milk from the farmers at the market price and kept all the profits for himself.

<sup>8</sup> The story of "The Grasshopper Invasion, 1873-77," is told by Dr. William W. Folwell in his *History of Minnesota*, 3: 93-111 (St. Paul, 1926).

I was also instrumental in starting the first public library in Fairmont. The president was Humphrey M. Blaisdell, and I was the secretary. We both loved books and we enjoyed making the selections. There was a law under which a town was empowered to levy a small additional amount to the rates for library purposes. The library prospered.

As regards the happenings of the English settlers, their intermarriages and varying fortunes, information could be gleaned from the files of the *Martin County Sentinel*. It was published by Mr. Frank A. Day, who is still I believe, the editor and owner.<sup>9</sup> The *Sentinel* kept an almost parental record of all our doings, with a minuteness quite remarkable.

ARTHUR REGINALD MORO

LONDON, ENGLAND

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Day settled in Fairmont late in June, 1874. He formed a partnership with C. H. Bullard, and on July 3, 1874, they published the first issue of the *Martin County Sentinel*. See Budd, *Martin County*, 97. The paper, which is now known as the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel*, is still owned by Mr. Day. A file of the paper, beginning with the issue of January 1, 1875, is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

## MINNESOTA AS SEEN BY TRAVELERS

### CAMPAIGNING WITH SEWARD IN 1860

The outstanding event of the political campaign of 1860 in Minnesota was the visit of William H. Seward, the Republican leader who, defeated by Lincoln for the presidential nomination, generously took the stump for his rival in a strenuous speech-making tour of the Northwest.

In the party that accompanied Seward were Charles Francis Adams, who was later appointed by Lincoln United States minister to Great Britain, and his son, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., who later became a distinguished historian and president of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The younger Adams tells in his autobiography of the visit paid by Seward to Boston and Quincy after his defeat at the Chicago convention. He was then planning a speaking tour through the Northwest and he desired both the elder and the younger Adams to join him. "I eagerly caught at the idea," writes the son, "and prevailed on my father to fall into it. We went, and it proved a considerable episode in my life. I saw the West for the first time, and moved among men."<sup>1</sup>

The Seward party reached the upper Northwest by a steamboat journey up the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien and arrived at St. Paul early in the morning of Sunday, September 16, 1860. "Mr. Seward was conducted to the International Hotel," notes a contemporary newspaper. "He attended Church at Rev. Dr. Patterson's, and we believe, was allowed to spend the day in privacy."<sup>2</sup> The following day was devoted to an excursion to the Falls of St. Anthony and to Minnehaha Falls. A "grand mass meeting of the Republicans of Minnesota" was held on September 18, and this all-day celebration

<sup>1</sup> Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915: *An Autobiography*, 52 (Boston and New York, 1916).

<sup>2</sup> *Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), September 18, 1860.



reached its climax when Seward delivered a speech from the steps of the State Capitol in St. Paul, whence he had been escorted by a procession of "Wide Awakes."

Seward's speech was one of the ablest delivered by him during the campaign. The elder Adams was puzzled because Seward apparently regarded the upper Northwest as very important in the campaign. Doubtless Seward was much pleased by the attachment that the Minnesota Republicans had shown for him at the Chicago convention. But he seems to have had a conception of the rôle of the Northwest that Adams could scarcely understand. His theme was the political power of the West. "We look to you of the Northwest to finally decide whether this is to be a land of slavery or of freedom," he said. "The people of the Northwest are to be the arbiters of its destiny."<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to turn from this remark of Seward's and read a study by a prominent American historian of our own time who believes that the Northwest was the critical contested area of the 1860 election and that the contest was won by the Republicans "only on a narrow margin by the votes of the foreigners whom the railroads poured in great numbers into the contested region."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The full text of Seward's speech is printed in the *Daily Times* (St. Paul) for September 22, 1860, and is prefaced with this note by the editor: "The following speech was reported for the ST. PAUL DAILY TIMES, and was revised and corrected by Gov. Seward himself; it is therefore the only authenticated copy published either East or West." A much abridged version of the speech is published under the title "Political Equality the National Idea," in Seward's *Works*, 4: 330-347 (Baker edition, New York, 1853-61). Frederic Bancroft, in his *Life of William H. Seward*, 1: 547 (New York and London, 1900), writes: "There were two special features that gave Seward's addresses in the Northwest a powerful effect: his full appreciation of the stupendous growth and resources of that part of the country, and his ability to convince the inhabitants that they owed the possibility of that growth and the development of those resources to the exclusion of slave labor." A brief account of Seward's St. Paul visit appears in Frederick W. Seward, *Seward at Washington, as Senator and Secretary of State*, 463-465 (New York, 1891).

<sup>4</sup> William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest, 1860," in *American Historical Review*, 16: 788 (July, 1911).

For Minnesotans the most interesting portion of Seward's speech was that occupied with prophecy of the future of the Northwest. On the journey up the great river, the New York statesman had apparently given much thought both to the beauty of his changing surroundings and to the destiny of the continent.

And then that beautiful Lake Pepin scene, at the close of the day, when the autumnal green of the shores was lost in a deep blue hue that emulated that of the heavens; the moistened atmosphere reflected the golden rays of the setting sun, and the skies above seemed to come down to complete the gorgeous drapery of the scene. It was a piece of upholstery such as no hand but that of nature could have made. This magnificent Lake, I said to myself, is a fitting vestibule to the Capital of the State of Minnesota.<sup>5</sup>

Minnesota to Seward was a point of vantage for a continental survey:

I find myself now, for the first time on the highlands in the centre of the continent of North America, equidistant from the waters of Hudson's Bay and the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic Ocean to the ocean in which the sun sets. . . . Here is the central place where the agriculture of the richest regions of North America must begin its magnificent supplies to the whole world. (Applause.) On the East, all along the shore of Lake Superior, and on the West, stretching in one broad plain, in a belt quite across the Continent, is a country where State after State is yet to rise, and whence the productions for the support of human society in other crowded States must forever go forth. This is then a commanding field; but it is as commanding in regard to the commercial future, for power is not to reside permanently on the eastern slope of the Alleghany Mountains, nor in the sea ports of the Pacific. Seaports have always been controlled at last by the people of the interior. The people of the inland and of the upland, those who inhabit the sources of the mighty waters, are they who supply all States with the materials of wealth and power. The seaports will be the mouths by which we shall communicate and correspond with Europe, but the power that shall speak and shall communicate and express the will of men on this continent, is to be located in the Mississippi Valley, and at the source of the Mississippi and

<sup>5</sup> All the passages here quoted from Seward's speech are taken from the version published in the *Times* for September 22, 1860.

the St. Lawrence. (Loud applause.) In other days, studying what might perhaps have seemed to others a visionary subject, I have cast about for the future, the ultimate central seat of power of the North American people. I have looked at Quebec and at New Orleans, at Washington and at San Francisco, at Cincinnati and at St. Louis, and it has been the result of my best conjecture that the seat of power for North America would yet be found in the Valley of Mexico; that the glories of the Aztec Capitol would be renewed, and that city would become ultimately the Capitol of the United States of America. But I have corrected that view, and I now believe that the last seat of power on the great continent will be found somewhere within a radius not very far from the very spot where I stand, at the head of navigation on the Mississippi river, and on the great Mediterranean Lakes. (Loud applause.)

It may be interesting to note that in this speech of 1860 Seward touched prophetically on the possible acquisition of Alaska by the United States:

Standing here and looking far off into the North-West, I see the Russian, as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports and towns and fortifications, on the verge of this continent, as the outposts of St. Petersburg, and I can say "Go on and build up your outposts all along the coast up even to the Arctic Ocean — they will yet become the outposts of my own country — monuments of the civilization of the United States in the North-West."<sup>6</sup>

Seward must have breathed the air of "Manifest Destiny" as he journeyed into the wilderness of the Northwest. His imperial vision was by no means limited to Alaska. He also took occasion in his St. Paul speech to predict the incorporation of Prince Rupert's Land and Canada into the American domain, and he even looked toward the reorganization of the South American republics "in free, equal and self governing members of the United States of America."

Seward saw the West as a harmonizer of sections and races, and he particularly commented on the place of the foreign-born in the Northwest, pointing out that "while society is convulsed with rivalries and jealousies between native and foreign born

<sup>6</sup> On Seward as a prophet of territorial expansion, see Bancroft, *Seward*, 2: 470-474.

in our Atlantic cities and on our Pacific Coast, and tormented with the rivalries and jealousies produced by difference of birth, of language, and of religion, here, in the central point of the Republic, the German, and the Irishman, and the Italian, and the Frenchman, the Hollander and the Norwegian, becomes in spite of himself, almost completely in his own day, and entirely in his own children, an American citizen."

The documents herewith printed are records of the Seward campaign in Minnesota from the pens respectively of Charles Francis Adams and his son. In 1900 the son, then president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, participated in the exercises at the dedication in Madison of the new building of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and on this occasion Adams quoted a number of interesting passages both from his father's diary and from a contemporary record of his own relating to the visit made to Madison forty years earlier.<sup>7</sup> Samuel R. Thayer of Minneapolis, greatly interested in these two historical records, ventured to ask Adams for copies of the passages relating to the journey beyond Madison—to the Mississippi River and to Minnesota. In a letter to Thayer written on December 3, 1900, Adams made this response:<sup>8</sup>

You may remember sometime ago expressing a wish to have the record of my father and myself made during our trip to the Northwest in 1860, being a continuation of the passages I quoted at Madison.

I need not remind you that our trip was in connection with Mr. Seward's quite famous political canvass of 1860, during which he made his speech at St. Paul, prophesying the future greatness of the place.

Enclosed I send you the two narratives referred to. My own was written immediately on my return home after the trip was over, partly from notes made during the trip, and partly from recollection. My father's was apparently a record made almost day by day during the experience.

<sup>7</sup> Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *The State Historical Society of Wisconsin: Exercises at the Dedication of Its New Building, October 19, 1900, 25-28* (Madison, 1901).

<sup>8</sup> A copy of this letter is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The records have a certain interest, and you are welcome to make such use of them, either with your Historical Society, or otherwise, as may commend itself to you.

I should in any event have been glad to oblige you by making these extracts, but in my own case it came in somewhat handily, as my record was one which I was then looking over with a view to destroying it. It has, since making these extracts, been reduced to ashes, as I found it contained little worth preserving.

The story back of the destruction of his youthful diary Adams tells in his autobiography. It appears that he kept a diary until, at the age of twenty-five, he entered the army for Civil War service. The volumes of the diary were sealed up in a package that Adams did not open until many years later. The shock of the revelation of himself as a young man caused Adams, after re-reading the record, to groan over "its unmistakable, unconscious immaturity and ineptitude, its conceit, its weakness and its cant." Adams saw himself "face to face through fifty years" and was thoroughly disillusioned. "It was with difficulty I forced myself to read through that dreadful record; and, as I finished each volume, it went into the fire; and I stood over it until the last leaf was ashes." Adams, with something of the spirit of his brother, Henry Adams, sums the matter up with the comment, "It was a tough lesson; but a useful one."\*

If the extract presented by Adams to Thayer and printed in these pages is a fair example of the diary, it may be doubted whether the world will agree with Adams's severe castigation of the young man who was himself some thirty or forty years earlier. It is more likely to pronounce him a shrewd observer whose journal, written with unusual clarity, portrays both men and events with precision and vividness. Certainly Minnesotans will be thankful that the family conscience relented when Adams reached that part of his diary which tells of the Northwest journey. The original was devoured by the flames, to be sure, but a copy of the record has been preserved. It possesses an interest far transcending that of the circle of Min-

\* Adams, *Autobiography*, 27.

nesota readers. To Minnesotans the record is a document of Minnesota history. It must not be forgotten, however, that this document and also that kept by the elder Adams are interesting contemporary records of the national campaign that put Abraham Lincoln into the presidential chair, and that the central figure in these records was the most prominent Republican in the country, save one. It is therefore believed that the two documents herewith printed have a national historical interest. Even if they did not deal with the campaign of 1860 or with Seward, they would possess a national interest because they are records from the pens of Charles Francis Adams and Charles Francis Adams, Jr.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

FROM THE DIARY OF CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS <sup>10</sup>

[Typed copy in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society]

Visit of William H. Seward, and party, to Minnesota, in September, 1860, during the Presidential canvass of that year.

Extracts from the Diary of Charles Francis Adams, who then accompanied Mr. Seward. In May, 1844, Mr. Adams had been at Galena, coming up the Mississippi from St. Louis, and thence had crossed to Chicago by stage, but had not revisited that region during the intervening time. On the present occasion the party had come from Chicago to Milwaukee and Madison, and thence had reached the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien, where they took the Steamboat for St. Paul at 9 P.M. on Thursday, September 13th. Mr. Adams's record then begins: <sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> A brief biography of *Charles Francis Adams* by Charles Francis Adams, Jr., is published in the *American Statesmen* series (Boston and New York, 1900). The campaign of 1860 is dismissed with a paragraph in this biography. "Mr. Adams was no stump speaker or campaign orator," writes his son. "It was not in him to 'move the masses;' but, in the long exciting canvass which now ensued, he took a somewhat active part, accompanying Governor Seward in his memorable electioneering journey through the States of the Northwest, going as far as St. Paul. Renominated to Congress without opposition, he was elected by a majority of some 3000 votes." Adams, *Charles Francis Adams*, 115.

<sup>11</sup> This introductory material was presumably written by Charles Francis Adams, Jr.

Friday, September 14, 1860: I slept very indifferently, and was up soon after five. The steamer was drawn up against the bank of the stream, waiting for a suitable hour to reach Lacrosse, the town where the Governor was to be received. This was not in the original programme, but it had been admitted on the earnest solicitation of Mr. C. C. Washburn who came with us. It is his residence; a new and small town of perhaps four thousand souls. Here the Governor was received in due form by the Wide Awakes, and escorted into the town. Carriages were then procured, and we drove out to see the vicinity, which was poor and cheerless enough. The only incident that amused us grew out of a visit at my desire to a brewery of lager beer, where we examined the whole process of manufacture, and the vaults in which the article is kept. The owner, who is a German, would not permit us to go without drinking three glasses apiece of his beer. As he is inclining to Republicanism we felt afraid to decline his civility. At last we got back to the steamer and dined. Then came the procession to the place of speaking. It was an inclosed space with a building used by the Germans for a gymnasium. A scaffolding was made against one window. The crowd, which might have consisted of twelve hundred persons, was there packed together directly under the influence of the Speakers. Governor Seward began, and made I think the most easy and agreeable address I ever heard from him.<sup>12</sup> The cry was then for Mr. Nye, when I was arranged to follow.<sup>13</sup> This annoyed me, as I knew the impatience people feel in having a speaker put in whom they do not want to hear at a time when he shuts out a favorite. So I insisted upon Gen. Nye's responding at once. He made a good deal of difficulty, but I was so earnest about it that he took precedence at last. His speech was better than usual, and satisfied the people; so I came on without any difficulty. Next came Mr. Doolittle who was clear and forcible. The meeting then adjourned until

<sup>12</sup> An extract from this speech appears in Seward's *Works*, 4:421. In a biographical memoir at the beginning of the same volume is printed the text of a brief address that Seward delivered on the boat at La Crosse. *Works*, 4:93.

<sup>13</sup> In addition to the two Adams, the Seward party included George W. Patterson and James W. Nye of New York, Rufus King of Wisconsin, and various others.



evening, and we went by invitation to dine with Mr. Washburn. The company consisted of himself, a Mr. and Mrs. Nevins and another lady, I presume his sister, Governor Seward, his daughter and Miss Perry, myself and son, Mr. Baker, Mr. Doolittle, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Goodrich.<sup>14</sup> In the midst of dinner a thunder storm came on, and it continued to rain until late. No provision had been made for this, so we sat until midnight in the mortal discomfort of exhausted conversation. An omnibus then stopped for us, and we got home to the steamer at or near one o'clock.

Saturday, 15th September: We travelled all night and at about six this morning I arose, and found myself looking at an Autumn sky, with a fresh northwesterly wind, and bright sun. As the day advanced it grew warmer, and I made use of the greater part of it in observing the peculiar scenery of the river. All the way on each side are conical elevations so similar as almost to become monotonous, with more or less of timber all the way up. The water is low so that the boat had difficulty in keeping the sinuous channel. Yet the effect is far superior to anything I have seen elsewhere in the West. Occasionally we were interrupted by the sharp report of our piece of artillery, which was the signal for a visit to some town, and the usual formulas of acknowledgment from Governor Seward, Mr. Nye and myself. This happened at Winona, at Wabashaw, and at Redwing. At the entrance of Lake Pepin a sudden change took place in the atmosphere, and a thunder-storm came on to give a striking variety to the scene. It was highly picturesque.

Sunday, 16th September: At six o'clock this morning we were in sight of Saint Paul, the most northerly point of our journey. Its position is striking; but it has a more ragged, uninviting look than even Western towns commonly have. As it was Sunday, and we came so early there was no preparation to meet us, I quietly slipped up to the Hotel before anybody knew I had started. After

<sup>14</sup> Morton Smith Wilkinson was United States senator from Minnesota from 1859 to 1865. Aaron Goodrich was chief justice of Minnesota Territory from 1849 to 1851 and was one of the founders of the Republican party in Minnesota. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., has much to say about his character and personality. See *post*, p. 165. Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies, 1655-1912*, 264, 858 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 14).



dressing and breakfast I attended Divine service with Governor Seward and others of our party, at the Episcopal Church. A certain Dr. or Mr. Hall officiated. The house looked fresh and neat, which is more than I could say for the streets. The place is barely ten years old, and it has of course all the aspect of newness consequent upon this cause. The hotel however is built as if intended for a city of a hundred thousand people.

Monday, 17th September: A very fine clear morning that seemed to promise steady weather, but it clouded up and rained by two o'clock with every appearance of a long storm. Yet in the evening it was bright starlight. Arrangements had been made for an excursion to the falls of St. Anthony at eight this morning, but Mr. Goodrich left everybody in the lurch except Governor Seward, and we were in danger of faring ill but for the interference of Senator Wilkinson who assigned me to the care of Mr. Acker, a well known gentleman of the place.<sup>15</sup> I went in his buggy, in advance of the rest of the party. We went up on the right bank as far as the ferry to Fort Snelling. Here we crossed in a boat swinging on a rope extended over the river, and, passing round the fort which is beautifully situated, travelled on a rich prairie to the falls of Minnehaha, a very picturesque little branch of the river, which with less power, somewhat resembles the smallest single fall at Niagara. We walked under the projection to the other bank without material inconvenience, and then drove off to the town of Minneapolis, at the fall of St. Anthony. This is the residence of Mr. Aldrich, the member from Minnesota. At his house we all stopped to take luncheon, and see his friends. Then we went down to see the fall. However it might have been in past time, there is now little worth seeing. So much has the shelf work been destroyed that the depth of fall has been reduced to twenty or thirty feet only, and the various saw-mills have drawn off water so as to diminish the volume in the same proportion. I regretted I had not executed my plan sixteen years ago. It was now only the ruins of a fall. Proceeding towards the suspension bridge, we found a large assemblage of people, some of whom were firing off a salute by charging an anvil. Then an address was made to

<sup>15</sup> William H. Acker was adjutant general of Minnesota in 1860 and 1861. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 3.

the Governor, which he answered, standing in his carriage. A call for me followed which I acknowledged in a few words; and then came General Nye.<sup>16</sup> This over we proceeded over the suspension bridge to the other side, where the Wide Awakes were drawn up in expectation. But as it was beginning to rain, and we were in advance, Mr. Acker concluded with my assent to push right on, whereby I was saved from another speech. We got home by four o'clock. . . .<sup>17</sup> We all went in the evening to Governor Ramsay's. A large company with a ball and supper. I found many intelligent and pleasant people, especially some ladies.<sup>18</sup>

Tuesday, September 18, 1860: Cloudy and raw, threatening rain, and looking highly unpropitious to the ceremony of the day. After breakfast, Mr. McLean came to see me and to ask me to ride to his house, situated on a high bluff as it is called here, or a hill as we should call it, though perhaps this is scarcely appropriate as the rise is commonly on the river side only, on the Southeasterly side of the city.<sup>19</sup> He is a younger brother of Judge McLean, though himself seventy years old. He came here as a local officer in the administration of General Taylor, took up lands in the infancy of the city, and thus was induced to remain after he was removed. His position is a very fine one; and, during the rage of speculation he thought himself rich by his sales, but the revulsion came, and his lands returned to him. This is the fate of speculation in the West. There is little money capital, and there is a superfluity of land. Mortgages consequently constitute the substance of the personal property. But when based upon valuations made in the fever of speculation, they are made securities for

<sup>16</sup> At Minneapolis Seward was welcomed in a speech by John Hutchinson, who described the guest as "the first living American statesman." See Seward, *Works*, 4:688. An account of the Minneapolis reception is in the *Minnesota State News* (St. Anthony and Minneapolis), September 22, 1860.

<sup>17</sup> This and all other omissions indicated in the document are made in the typewritten copy from which this is printed.

<sup>18</sup> The evening's festivities included a parade of the "Wide Awakes" to the International Hotel in St. Paul, where Judge Goodrich, Seward, and Patterson spoke briefly. *Times*, September 18 and 19, 1860.

<sup>19</sup> Nathaniel McLean, a journalist, was born in New Jersey in 1787. He was Sioux agent at Fort Snelling from 1849 to 1853. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 476.

sums which the lands do not actually represent. . . . Visit the Historical Society's rooms in the company of Governor Seward. So I went with him to the State House, where we found Governor Ramsay and a few other persons assembled. An address was here made to Mr. Seward by the English Bishop of Rupert's Land, far away to the north, which was briefly answered. Its substance was merely to hope that peace would be perpetual between the two countries.<sup>20</sup> The Society is in its infancy, but it seems to be doing well under the care of the Secretary, Mr. Neill.<sup>21</sup> Thus passed the morning. Then came the procession of the Wide Awakes, and the march to the same edifice. The assemblage was very large, and there was some delay and difficulty about the preliminaries. At last it was settled that the Governor should speak from the steps of the front entrance. The spot was well chosen, but the mass was much too large to be reached by any ordinary voice. Mr. Seward however held the standing body for an hour and three quarters, with the most careful and elaborate effort he has yet made. I am a little at a loss to know why he laid so much stress upon this, at present at least, the weakest and most inefficient of the Northwestern cluster of States. But it has been all along evident to me that he cherishes it with more than a mere political affection, on account of the attachment manifested by its delegates to him at the Convention at Chicago. During his speech the clouds insensibly vanished, and the declining rays of the sun shed a soft light over the crowd collected below the steps as well as on the heights of the distant landscape, which produced an almost magical effect on my senses. It seemed much like intoxication. But it was plainly no time for me to go on. The people had been kept standing for hours, and it was just sunset. Mr. Seward had closed very eloquently, and the people clamored for me. I thought it wisest, however, after consultation with the principal persons, not to strain their patience, so I merely rose to excuse myself at the moment, and to promise to speak in the evening if they desired it.

<sup>20</sup> The bishop of Rupert's Land was the Right Reverend David Anderson. On this meeting see the *St. Paul Daily Press*, January 30, 1862; *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 57; and Theodore C. Blegen, "James Wickes Taylor: A Biographical Sketch," *ante*, 1: 186.

<sup>21</sup> Dr. Edward Duffield Neill was secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society from 1851 to 1863.

I was received with extraordinary favor. I have nowhere seen such fixed attention to the words of a speaker as they paid throughout this long session exceeding two hours. Here and at Lacrosse, open air meetings were exceptions to the ordinary rule. They were really impressible bodies of men, and not a mere pageant. We rode back under the escort of the Wide Awakes, and proceeded to dine by invitation of Mr. Goodrich at the Merchants' Hotel. . . . At eight we returned to the Hotel. The Wide Awakes marched down in force, making a very imposing appearance and drew up in the street in front which was densely packed.<sup>22</sup> But the audience was by no means the same as before. It was tired, restless and noisy; so I changed my plan, and spoke only ten or fifteen minutes in the popular style. After which I went to bed, declining to go to a party at Mr. Oakes's.

St. Paul, Wednesday, 19th September: There seemed to be some doubt about our departure this morning, as the steamboat company had but one boat up here, and that the poorest on the line. The agent felt so ashamed of it that he wanted us to stay over, until tomorrow. But as the Governor's engagement at Dubuque was already hazarded by delay, it was decided that we should go. So at eight o'clock we took leave. The steamer "*Alhambra*" has been used mainly for a freight and emigrant boat. Old and bad at the best, she was now rendered still more uncomfortable by being surcharged with passengers. Yet she moved easily enough, and the day was so fine and the scenery so pleasing that I enjoyed our trip as much as any part of the whole excursion. Once indeed we ran over a log in the stream in such a manner as to make everybody on board believe she would sink forthwith. But the Captain mended the hole, assuring us that we owed our safety to

<sup>22</sup> The following newspaper account, in the *Times* for September 19, 1860, gives some of the local color of this occasion:

In the evening the Wide Awakes assembled at Market Hall, and when in line, marched through some of the principal streets. Their numbers were greatly augmented by a large number of German Republicans (700) who made a handsome appearance and this, with fire rockets, royal lights, &c., which were set off during the movement of the procession, made a splendid appearance. The procession halted at the International Hotel, where Hon. C. F. Adams, was called for and made a most effective speech. At the conclusion of his remarks, Lt. Gov. Patterson of New York, was called out and elicited unbounded enthusiasm. . . .

Such a blaze of enthusiasm was never witnessed in this city before.

our dilapidated condition; for that had the frame been stiffer so as not to yield, the consequences would have been more serious. Almost my whole day was passed on the upper deck, partly to watch the scenery, and partly because the cabin was so crowded as to admit of no comfort. . . . We had two or three stops at small towns on the river, at which the usual process of speeches, and guns and hurras took place. By dark we reached Lake Pepin, thus having the advantage of seeing by daylight all the picturesque scenery of the upper Mississippi which in going up we had passed by night.

Thursday, 20th September: The condition of the berths was so little dubious that I deemed it most prudent not to risk the reception of vermin. Hence I was awake most of the night. All the apparatus for washing, shaving was also deficient. Yet we had the opportunity of seeing by daylight all that portion of the river between Lacrosse and Prairie du Chien, which we missed by going up in the night. The only incident of any importance to us was that near Brownsville the current carried the boat into a raft, and broke it up, the timber drifting it directly upon an island in the midst of the river. At first we all supposed that the heavy timber would break in the feeble sides, but here again we were mistaken. The "Alhambra", after two hours spent in prying her off the head of the island floated into the current again, and went on as good as new. We were not destined to be drowned in this bark, feeble though she be. I kept on deck watching the scenery, the main defect of which is its uniformity and its want of culture. Some time or other, perhaps a couple of centuries hence, this difficulty will cease to exist, and the waste intervals may become the garden of America. We had not so many calls from the shore towns today, and got on better by the diminution of the passengers landing at different points. At Prairie du Chien we bid goodbye to the company of gunners and the four pound gun which has annoyed me by its incessant bark all the way. From this point to Dubuque we went down in the dark. With all the haste that the anxious officers made, we did not reach the place until half past nine o'clock. Yet here were the inevitable Wide Awakes, and not less than a thousand people waiting on the bank to receive the Governor. It was mentioned that thousands had been

waiting all day, but had been obliged to return to their houses in the country. We were placed in carriages and escorted to the Julian House, where a dense crowd had gathered, demanding Seward. A good but rather too long address was made to him, and he briefly replied. The call then went on in succession, Nye, and Patterson and myself. The people were greedy for talk, and full of pert answers, the custom of the West. But we retired, and so they were compelled to. But the solicitation to the Governor was so powerful to remain here until tomorrow afternoon, and make a real speech, that he yielded, and thus things stood at about one o'clock of

Friday, 21st. I was very tired and slept well, yet was up early. The day was cool but fine. Soon after breakfast a crowd of gentlemen came to invite us to go out and see the environs. We drove out upon the bluff which gives a fine view of the place, and then to a shaft of a lead mine. This is the great product which sustains the place. The thing was not new to me however, as I had not only seen but had gone down into one of the shafts. The lead at Galena, which was the place of my exploit in 1844 is more generally diffused, but it is not quite so pure. The back country of Iowa is nearly all of it prairie, but what they call rolling prairie as distinguished from the flat of Illinois. The people here all look at this land for its productive quality, and expect you for that reason to admire its beauty. But flat country however fertile is to me monotonous and tiresome. At two we were at home, and the Wide Awakes escorted us to the public square, where was assembled a crowd of about two thousand people. The stand was good and the speaking was effective. The Governor spoke one hour and three quarters. Not so carefully methodized as at St. Paul, but with single passages of greater eloquence. I followed and held the people just as easily as I did at La Crosse. General Nye came next, and Governor Patterson closed. It was high time, as we had dinner to get and be off at half past seven. Thus closed my part of this excursion. I have made no prepared speech. At Kalamazoo, at Madison, at Lacrosse, at St. Paul and here I have tried to avoid repeating myself, by taking up a single topic at each place. The task has been easier than I expected. I have never wanted for words, have been able to interweave the remarks of others when they aided my object, and

have invariably responded, or rather retorted, when any interpellation came from the crowd. So I feel as if I had passed the ordeal of extempore speaking, in the West.

FROM THE JOURNAL OF CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR.<sup>23</sup>

[Typed copy in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society]

Visit of William H. Seward, and his party, to Minnesota, in September, 1860, during the Presidential canvass of that year.

Written by Charles Francis Adams Jr., immediately on his return home from the journey, from recollection and notes made at the time.<sup>24</sup>

Tuesday, September 10th [11th],<sup>25</sup> we set out for Madison. As I was waiting at the hotel in Milwaukee to pay my bill I saw in the hall a strange, comical-looking character, carrying his thumbs in the arm-holes of a not over clean white waistcoat, and with a tall black hat perched on the back of his head, perambulating thoughtfully up and down. I recognized him as a man who, two evenings before, had been pointed out to me at Chicago as Judge Goodrich, of Minnesota, and as a warm political friend of Governor Seward. I introduced myself to the Judge, and my doing so subsequently proved quite a stroke; for the Judge developed into by all odds the most original and amusing character I encountered in the whole trip, and, moreover, he was greatly pleased at my having made his acquaintance. He never forgot it; and, from that time, I became, next to Governor Seward, his guest of distinction in the party. The Judge here joined us, and at once became the life of the company. Not witty, he had a queer, humorous, scriptural form of speech, and he expressed himself in the oddest and most unexpected fashion. Full of stories and broad fun, he only asked for an audience; and, when he secured one, the more fastidious were apt to be shocked; for the Western average man is the reverse

<sup>23</sup> For a general account of the career of the younger Adams see his autobiography, previously cited, and the essay by Henry Cabot Lodge published in the same volume.

<sup>24</sup> This introductory material was probably written by Adams at the time when he had the copy made from his original diary.

<sup>25</sup> The dates of this and the two following entries obviously are incorrect; they should read September 11, 12, and 13.



of refined, and you are lucky if you escape those who mistake pure coarseness for wit. Judge Goodrich was not at all choice in his conversation, but he was indisputably humorous. In addition to these peculiarities, the Judge is also highly excitable, and, at bottom, I have an idea that he is not altogether sane; but he is always a Western original.

Wednesday, September 11th [12th], we drove out to a large farm of a Mr. Robbins, in the vicinity of Madison, a party of some 40, passing as we went a procession of wagons on their way to the meeting, to be held that afternoon. In the vehicle in which I found myself, were Judge Goodrich and Mr. Washburn, the representative of the district in Congress, beside the gentleman who drove us out, and myself. Goodrich was great. He had come out to Minnesota from New York, where he was born, by way of Tennessee, and he now got telling us of his political experiences in the latter State,—how he used to hold “discussions” with the opposing candidate, and go to the meetings “a walking magazine”,—with all his “tools” as he expressed it;—how he and his opponent used to “meet on warm days, in very full-skirted coats, well buttoned up, which, somehow, neither of them cared to unbutton.” And he recounted his various adventures with so much humor and in such an original way, that I felt it a misfortune that I alone from the East was there to enjoy it. Presently we met a wagon in which was seated a tall, strong-featured, close-shaven man, wearing a tall, white hat; when, suddenly, Goodrich seemed to grow crazy, and vehemently insisted on our team hauling up. He then incontinently tumbled out of our wagon, and into that of the stranger. We saw no more of him for the rest of the drive; but at the Robbins farm we found him again, and he then made us acquainted with his white-hatted friend, who turned out to be Senator Wilkinson, of Minnesota. He had, it seemed, come down to Madison to meet Gov. Seward. Of Wilkinson I afterwards during the trip saw a great deal. He is not a man of any considerable ability, and would hardly have got into the Senate except from a newly settled State; but I took naturally to him, and he apparently took to me.

Thursday, 12th [13th]. Leaving Madison in the afternoon we struck the Missouri [*Mississippi*] at Prairie du Chien, the party being now increased to about a car full. We reached Prairie du



Chien about 9 P.M. and, amid the blaze of the "Wide-awake" torches, and the cheers of the assembled crowd, I followed Gov. Seward under the flaming beacon-lights of the steamboat "Milwaukee", and, for the first time in my life, found myself on the deck of a Mississippi steamboat. After the speeches were delivered and the cheers had subsided, we fairly started up stream. To me, it all seemed strange and unreal, almost weird,—the broad river bottom, deep in shadow, with the high bluffs rising dim in the starlight. Presently I saw them wood-up while in motion, and the bright lights and deep shadows were wonderfully picturesque. A large flat-boat, piled up with wood, was lashed alongside, and, as the steamer pushed steadily up stream, the logs were thrown on board. As the hands, dressed in their red flannel shirts, hurried backward and forward, shipping the wood, the lurid flickerings from the steamer's "beacon-lights" cast a strong glare over their forms and faces, lighting up steamer, flat-boat and river, and bringing every feature and garment out in strong relief.

Saturday, 15th. A heavy rain during the night of the 14th was followed by as glorious a morning as ever broke on the upper Mississippi. The day proved bright and warm, with an almost cloudless sky; though, as evening approached and we were passing up Lake Pepin, there came on a shower. On the slope of the bluffs, and on the spurs and in the ravines, the foliage, just touched by the early frosts, was mellowed in tint, while the atmosphere shone with golden haze. I have rarely enjoyed a day more intensely. Morning strengthened into noon, and noon grew to evening; and the closing day found us still laboring up towards St. Paul. It was twilight before we were clear of Lake Pepin, where we encountered a thunder-shower; and then evening fell.

Sunday, 16th. We touched the levee at St. Paul at 6 o'clock of a gray, chill, September morning, dirty, cross and hungry; and at once hurried up to the hotel. In the afternoon I was taken out to drive across the unfenced and still half-settled prairie. Yet it is a beautiful country, and everything bears a highly prosperous aspect. Though the people are obviously not rich, none seem very poor. The city is well enough, though built mostly of wood; but business blocks of stone are in course of erection, while building material seems abundant. Had I money to invest, I certainly should not fear to put it in corner lots in St. Paul; for, though the

city at the head waters of the Mississippi will never be of the first class, much less what Seward in his speech here predicted, yet with its peculiar location and back country it can hardly fail to be permanently prosperous.

Monday, 17th. The party was driven over to the Falls of St. Anthony. I started out in a wagon with Senator Wilkinson, but at Minnehaha was shifted over into a wagon driven by Gen. King. Minnehaha is a picturesque little falls; but it looked tame and lifeless to one who only a few days before had been taking in Niagara. We all lunched at Col. Aldrich's;<sup>26</sup> after which followed speeches, and then the drive back to St. Paul through the rain,—chill and dull. In the evening there was a reception at Gov. Ramsay's, at which, of course, Gov. Seward was the centre of attraction.<sup>27</sup>

Tuesday, 18th. This date was set apart for Seward's St. Paul speech. The day and audience were both good, but of the speech I heard only the earlier portion, that in which he predicted the great future of St. Paul. We were all to dine with Judge Goodrich, a dinner in honor of Gov. Seward. At the close of his speech I joined the party in Gov. Ramsay's room, and we were all marched off through an admiring throng to the hotel, where we were to dine. It was 6 o'clock when we got there, and we had to wait an hour and a half. I never saw Gov. Seward more elated than during that hour and a half. As was his custom when exhausted by speaking, he drank brandy and water, with some lumps of sugar in it, and he seemed overflowing with good-fellowship. He declared himself, and evidently was, well pleased with his speech and with its reception; and he told us that, since the day of the Chicago

<sup>26</sup> Cyrus Aldrich, who came to Minnesota in 1855, was a representative in Congress from 1859 to 1863. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 7.

<sup>27</sup> Characteristically Adams either neglected to enter in his original journal or else he omits from this copy a report of a speech that he delivered in St. Paul after returning from the trip to the Falls of St. Anthony. "Notwithstanding the unpropitious state of the weather last evening," reports the *Times* on September 18, "the Wide Awakes met at their Headquarters at Market Hall, where after being called to order, they were addressed by Charles F. Adams, Jr., son of Hon. Charles F. Adams, in a very neat and pertinent speech, which called out rapturous applause."

Convention he had not felt so much solicitude as to what he should say, and how express himself, as he had that morning. After dinner the "Wide-awakes" marched to the hotel, and we had more speeches and more enthusiasm. Finally we finished the evening at a small party given to the ladies of Gov. Seward's party, by Col. Oakes.

Wednesday, 19th. At 8 o'clock we bade farewell to St. Paul; and I must say that for hospitality and that generous spirit of welcome, which, however roughly expressed, go so far to make life pleasant, I have yet to meet the people who equal the Minnesotans. It seemed as if they could not do enough for us; and on a trip during which all were generous of their hospitalities, the people of Minnesota were most generous of all.

During the 18th and 19th we steamed down the river in the "Alhambra". The boat was in every respect a wretched one,—old, dirty and full of vermin. All day we glided down the river, sometimes grounding on a sandbank, and then again fouling a raft. The night was glorious, and the river not less so. The air was damp and chill; but, in a heavy overcoat I kept the deck till 3 A.M. briskly walking in the bright starlight. I saw the Great Bear drop to the horizon, and Castor and Pollux came forth with the sword of Orion; and, finally, Venus towards morning get brighter and brighter, till, when at last I left the guards, she cast my shadow distinctly against the white side of the steamer, much like a twilight moon. Finally we had a performance worth seeing, a boat-race on the Mississippi. We had left St. Paul that morning about ten minutes before the "Winona" of the opposition line,—and the competition was then bitter. Neither our boat nor the "Winona",—both old stern-wheelers,—could boast of much speed, and the only question between them was as to which was the worst. They were, nevertheless, good for a scrub race; and that we soon found. It was quite exciting. A little after 2 o'clock A.M. we heard strange noises behind us, and, looking over the stern of our boat, we made out the "Winona", close behind us and in full chase. There were her colored lanterns, her three tiers of lights, and from time to time when her furnace doors were opened to replenish her fires, lurid flashes lit up the river. The stream was so low and the channel so narrow that it was largely a question of pilotage; and, for some time, the two boats

sped along in line. Then, as the channel widened somewhat, the "Winona" tried to pass us. She did not succeed this time; for she only lapped the "Alhambra", and was again pushed, cut, and forced to fall behind. Again the channel widened, and now the "Winona" got half way by; and the two boats, both running at the top of their speed, moved along side by side, at times close together, at times thirty or forty feet apart, — sometimes one apparently gaining and sometimes the other. At last, as the channel broadened, the two got fairly alongside of each other, neck and neck, and so kept it up, slowly converging until separated by only some twelve or fifteen feet; and then they would again separate. Finally the channel apparently narrowed, and the interval was closed rapidly up until, with a bump, the two boats collided heavily, almost throwing me from my feet. The guards seemed to groan and tremble, but neither boat gave; and so the two rushed along with rubbing sides. I suddenly found myself standing face to face with a passenger on the other boat, and, somewhat apparently to his surprise, extended my hand, and wished him good morning. He shook my hand, remarking that he proposed to leave us; and so on the two boats went. I think we must have rushed along in this way for several minutes; but, finally, they shouldered us out of the channel, and, giving a triumphant whistle, shot ahead and down the river, leaving us to follow. Shortly after, being thoroughly tired, I rolled, overcoat and all, into my berth, and incontinently fell asleep. An hour or two later I was awakened by a loud noise of cracking and breaking. We had run into an immense lumber raft, smashing it to bits; while, to return the compliment, the raft had forced our boat hard aground.

The following day (20th) it was a very used-up party, — sleepy, peevish, unwashed. Even Judge Goodrich was under a cloud. I was the most philosophical; for, as the sun gained power, I rolled myself in my cloak, and dozed away several hours, lying on the deck with a log for a pillow. Finally, the Captain of the boat, in great mortification, woke me up and tried to insist on my taking his room. He couldn't express the regret he felt at our being on his boat. I politely declined his offer; and we steamed along. Still it was undeniably monotonous, and the hours passed slowly; but evening came at last, and at 10 o'clock we were all pleased when we heard the roaring of a cannon and saw the long line of

"Wide-awake" torches which told of our approach to Dubuque. Landing here, the party was escorted to a hotel, and the usual speeches followed. It was one o'clock before we were permitted to go to bed.

The party left Dubuque on the evening of the 22d, and at Mendota I saw the last of Judge Goodrich;<sup>28</sup> for my record says "he had come with us thus far on the road to Kansas; but for some days he had plainly been unwell, and his liveliness was departed. During the night, feeling very much the reverse of well, he got into a berth in the wretched device then doing service as a sleeping-car; and, when the party changed trains at Mendota he was left quietly asleep. We saw him no more. He and a Mr. Baker, who acted as Gov. Seward's secretary, had been left together. "The first we knew of them was a telegraphic message next morning, informing us that they were left, and pathetically asking 'when and where they should overtake us.' Mr. Baker caught up with us at Leavenworth; but poor Goodrich, — after cursing the conductor of the train on which he was left asleep with strange oaths, hurting himself in jumping from the car, running in the night time and in his slippers half a mile across country, having in his hurry forgotten to put on his boots, — felt discouraged as well as ill; so, after airing his whole varied stock of expletives, he gave up the chase in despair, and returned first to Chicago, and thence to St. Paul, — that "Apostolic City of his adoption", — as he was wont to term it."

<sup>28</sup> The quotation marks and interpolated matter in this last paragraph are printed without change from the copy of the document supplied by Thayer.

## THE INFORMATION BUREAU

### THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TELEGRAPH IN MINNESOTA

Would you be able to give us information relative to the early history of the telegraph in Minnesota, that is, the date of its first entrance into the state, the first telegraph office, etc?

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY, Minneapolis

In the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society is a letter from William R. Marshall, who later became governor of the state, to H. T. Welles of Minneapolis, dated at St. Paul, March 18, 1859, relating plans for the construction of a telegraph line from Minneapolis and St. Anthony to La Crosse. Marshall was a member of a committee of the St. Paul Chamber of Commerce for the furtherance of such an enterprise and he gives a list of names of St. Paul subscribers. The purpose of his letter was to secure the coöperation of Minneapolis people. A note attached shows that Welles brought it to the attention of the Minneapolis Board of Trade on March 21, 1859.

Dr. William W. Folwell in his *History of Minnesota*, 2: 65, gives the following information concerning the beginnings of the telegraph in the state:

Early in the summer of 1860 the St. Paul newspapers announced the rapid construction of the electric telegraph line which was to put the capital of Minnesota in continual association with the great world. In June the public was informed that the poles were nearly all set between Winona and St. Paul and that the workmen had been much annoyed by rattlesnakes. It was not until August 29 that the opening of the St. Paul office was celebrated by the dispatch of a message of salutation, at 1:45 P.M., from Morton S. Wilkinson and Aaron Goodrich to William H. Seward. Seward's reply was received at 8:30 P.M. The delay in the installation was due not so much to rattlesnakes and foul weather as to the consumption of time in extracting bonuses from the municipalities along the route. Minneapolis was so tardy with her subscription that it was not until November 14 that the first dispatches appeared

in her newspapers. St. Anthony, even less prompt with her bonus, did not get her local office until December 4. For many months newspapers were compelled to apologize for the absence of telegraphic news because the wire was down or because there had been a thunderstorm or a sudden thaw, and in one instance because of some mysterious influence of moonbeams on the electric current.

The first telegram sent from St. Paul, published in the *Pioneer and Democrat* for August 30, 1860, reads as follows:

To Gov. SEWARD, Auburn, N. Y.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Winslow, proprietor, we are enabled to send this, the first message ever transmitted by lightning from St. Paul to the East, as complimentary to you. Signed

M. S. WILKINSON  
AARON GOODRICH

To this message Seward sent the following reply: "You have grappled New York — now lay hold on San Francisco." The Minnesota Historical Society has in its possession a dispatch received by Charles D. Efelt on August 29, 1860, which is said to be the first business dispatch sent over the line of the Minnesota State Telegraph Company.

James D. Reid, in *The Telegraph in America*, 283 (New York, 1879), says:

In 1865, the Wisconsin State Telegraph Company purchased the lines of the Minnesota State Telegraph Company which was also a combination of lines built under the Morse patent, and in which Mr. O. S. Wood, of Montreal, had acquired a large ownership. On the purchase of the Minnesota State Telegraph Company's lines, it was resolved to sink both names, and under a general state law to reorganize under the title of the North-Western Telegraph Company. This was accordingly done.

Methods of receiving telegrams fifty years ago when telegraphy was still in its infancy are described by a pioneer operator, Charles E. Hughes, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 16, 1923. Mr. Hughes tells of receiving the news of the Custer massacre at the St. Paul office of the Northwestern Telegraph Company on July 5, 1876, and of working for forty-eight hours taking in longhand the reports of the disaster.

A. H. B.



## SWISS SETTLEMENT IN MINNESOTA

The Swiss department of foreign affairs has asked us to ascertain the dates of the foundation and the exact location of certain Swiss settlements in your state. Among others the department mentions Bern, in Dodge County, and Helvetia, in Carver County. We would greatly appreciate it if you could furnish us with information about these places.

## CONSULATE OF SWITZERLAND, Chicago

The village of Bern in Milton Township, Dodge County, was laid out in the spring of 1856 by Rudolph Smith and Jacob Klossner in the vicinity of their sawmill, which was on section 17. The village was first named Buchanan in honor of the presidential candidate, but in the same year a post office was established there and the name was changed to Berne. The final *e* seems to have been dropped from the name later. This account follows that given by W. H. Mitchell and U. Curtis in *An Historical Sketch of Dodge County, Minnesota*, 84 (Rochester, 1870). In a *History of Winona, Olmsted, and Dodge Counties*, 1245 (Chicago, 1884), the statement appears that "Berne postoffice was established in the year 1858," though Robert Smith had built a store there in 1856. The name of this village appears in still another form—"Newbern"—in Albert B. Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives*, 70 (Washington, D. C., 1916). This author also mentions the village of Helvetia in Carver County, and he states that there is material on both settlements in the archives of the Swiss *Auswanderungsamt*. A number of Milton Township families came from Berne, Switzerland, according to the manuscript census schedule for 1860, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. These families probably formed the nucleus of the village of Bern and gave it its name.

The following account of the village of Helvetia in Hollywood township, Carver County, is quoted from Edward D. Neill's *History of the Minnesota Valley*, 402 (Minneapolis, 1882):



The village of Helvetia was laid out in the autumn of 1856 by John Buhler, who had settled that summer on section 31, in Watertown, and Dr. Lehmann. Helvetia lies on either side of the line between Hollywood and Watertown. Mr. Buhler also established the first store in Helvetia. . . . In August, 1875, the first post-office was established in Helvetia, with Jacob Lahr as postmaster. . . . The name Helvetia was given by the early settlers, derived from the European province of that name. Previous to the fall of 1859 the town of Helvetia embraced the south one-half of the congressional townships 117-25 and 117-26 and the north one-half of these townships was called Watertown. At the general election held at the store of E. F. Lewis in Watertown village, October 11, 1859, the boundaries of these towns were changed by a vote of the people, so that Watertown should embrace congressional township 117-25; and Helvetia congressional township 117-26.

An examination of the census schedules for these townships shows that they also had a large number of Swiss settlers in 1860.

A brief account of Swiss settlement in Minnesota appears in Dr. Adelrich Steinach, *Geschichte und Leben der Schweizer Kolonien in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika*, 306-312 (New York, 1889). This author states that the principal "Schweizer-Kolonien" in Minnesota were in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Winona, Bern, and New Ulm. He gives the names, however, of Swiss settlers in a great many additional places.

During the fifties the Territory of Minnesota appointed as commissioner of emigration to represent it in New York Eugene Burnand, a Swiss by birth. He did much to encourage Swiss settlers to locate in Minnesota. With a letter which Burnand wrote to Governor Willis A. Gorman on June 8, 1856, there is a list of 106 "persons that called at the Agency of Minnesota and left New York for Minnesota," which includes the names of a number of Swiss immigrants. The letter and the list are in the governor's archives. A number of Burnand's letters and reports are published in an account of "Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota during the Territorial Period," by Livia Appel and Theodore C. Blegen, *ante*, 4: 167-203.

B. L. H.

## THE MINNESOTA MARKER IN THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT

The writer visited the Washington Monument when in Washington last December, and walking down discovered near the top of the monument a marker placed there by the state of Minnesota. This stone appears to be a piece of boiler plate with the word "Minnesota" painted thereon, and beyond any question of doubt is the cheapest marker placed on this monument. The writer's curiosity was aroused in connection therewith, and he will greatly appreciate information about its origin.

M. A. P., Minneapolis

The Minnesota marker in the Washington Monument consists of a piece of red pipestone from the famous quarries in southwestern Minnesota. Long before the days of the white man, the Indians went there to gather material for their pipes. The stone is unique, and no material could be more appropriate for a Minnesota marker.

The particular piece of pipestone used here has a rather interesting history. In his *History of Minnesota*, I: 121 n., Dr. Folwell makes the following statement about it: "A slab of the red pipestone, procured by General Sibley and presented to the first territorial legislature in 1849, was forwarded to the national capital to be built into the Washington Monument." With the stone Sibley sent a letter which is printed in the *Council Journal of Minnesota Territory for 1849* (p. 30). Part of the letter follows:

The undersigned, having seen a notice in the public journals, some time since, signed by the general agent of the Washington Monument Association, to the effect that a portion of rock from each State would be received to be used in the construction of the monument, has caused to be procured from the quarry, about two hundred miles distant, a specimen of the red or pipe stone, which is peculiar to our Territory, to be proffered for that purpose.

Believing it to be meet and proper that Minnesota should not be backward in her contribution to a work which is intended to perpetuate the memory of the 'Father of his Country,' and that the offering should be that of the constituted authorities of the Territory, rather than the act of a private individual, I have hereby the honor to present the specimen of rock to your honorable

body, for your acceptance, to be disposed of in such manner as your wisdom may suggest.

The slab is about two and a half feet in length, and a little over one and a half in breadth, and two inches in thickness.

According to a report made in 1855, Minnesota was one of two territories which had "contributed a block of marble or stone, inscribed with its arms or some suitable inscription or device" to be built into the Washington Monument. In addition, every state and many foreign nations had sent stones.

The Indians looked upon the pipestone quarry as sacred ground and they objected to having the whites visit it. Until 1836 only a few traders had seen it. In that year George Catlin, the famous artist, made his way to the quarry despite the protests of the Indians, and he wrote the first account of it. This is published in Catlin's *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, 2: 166-176 (London and New York, 1841). A brief account of Catlin's Minnesota visit appears in Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota*, 1: 119-121. Dr. Folwell records that "A specimen of the red pipestone was sent by Catlin to a Boston chemist, who after analysis pronounced it to be a new mineral compound and gave it the name 'catlinite.'" By this name it still is known.

B. L. H.

#### ALEXANDER FARIBAULT

Can you give me some information about the career of Alexander Faribault, in whose honor the city of Faribault was named?<sup>1</sup>

According to the manuscript census schedules of Minnesota for the year 1850 Alexander Faribault was at the time forty-four years of age and a native of Minnesota. According to a manuscript sketch of the founders of the city of Faribault

<sup>1</sup> This inquiry was received shortly before the celebration at Faribault in July, 1926, of the centennial of the founding of the city. See *ante*, 7: 373.

by Stephen Jewett, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, Faribault was born at Prairie du Chien and the exact date was June 22, 1806. He was the son of a famous French-Canadian fur-trader, Jean Baptiste Faribault, who was born in Berthier, Canada, in 1774. Jean Baptiste Faribault was an employee, in the regions now known as Iowa and Minnesota, of the Northwest Company, a large Canadian fur company. Sometime after 1816, probably in 1818, he entered the employ of the American Fur Company and settled at Mendota. For many years he traded on the Minnesota River, then known as the St. Peter's, and when his son, Alexander, was ready to earn his own livelihood, he too became a clerk of the American Fur Company.

Just when Alexander Faribault began his trading operations is uncertain, but on October 4, 1822, he was granted a license to trade on the St. Peter's River. This may have been his first license, as no reference to an earlier one has been found. In the papers of Alexis Bailly, the chief agent of the American Fur Company at the mouth of the St. Peter's, is a bond for one thousand dollars, dated November 14, 1825, which was given by Alexander "Farribault" and Alexis Bailly for a license to Faribault to trade with the Sioux at the forks of the Des Moines River. On October 6 of the following year another document in the same collection shows him as engaging himself to Alexis Bailly as clerk for a year at Traverse des Sioux. Faribault seems to have visited the site of the future city of Faribault during that winter's operations. By 1828, however, he was already located on the Cannon River, his home for many years. In the Bailly Papers is an invoice of merchandise "delivered Alex<sup>r</sup> Farribault for the Cannon River Adventure on the Bois Plumé for ac[coun]t & Risk of Bailly Outfit 1828." This list shows the stock of what was probably the first store in the vicinity of the present city of Faribault. It consisted of strouds (a kind of cloth), blankets, cartouche knives, scalpings, guns, black silk handkerchiefs, earbobs, arm bands, tomahawks, garters, combs, vermilion paint, needles,

wampum, mock garnets, flour, pork, corn, powder, lead, candles, whiskey, and other articles, amounting in all to \$138.08. In the following year his name appears in a list of licenses, where he is recorded as securing permission to trade at the Bois Plumé, on Cannon River, having given bonds for ten thousand dollars and with a capital of four thousand dollars. Evidently he had found his venture of the previous year quite remunerative.

That Faribault spoke English with a marked French flavor is apparent from the Gallicisms in the following letter to Henry H. Sibley, now in the Sibley Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The letter also reveals some of the problems of Faribault as a trader.

CANON RIVER 30 De<sup>b</sup> 1836

DEAR SIR

I am vary sorrow to write you that my Inden have been to war on the *Foxes*. thay were thirty seven of them, three of them have been kild, one wanded.

thay have made now hunt a tall I am fride that I will make noting this year.

the *Black Eagle*, has been here and now he is gone to see you I hope you will treet him well Let him have 4 bushel of Corn i kag of flower he has give me som fur.

you may keep one of my Men for I Cannot afford to keep three man here. keep *Gamel* for the others I can feed with Corn.

I am your Ob<sup>t</sup> Servnt

ALEX FARIBAULT

Jewett states that Faribault had fur posts on Lake Sakata, on the present site of Morristown, and at a point between Wells and Cannon lakes. He then adds:

In 1851, Mr. Faribault was one of the official interpreters at the St. Peter (Traverse-des-Sioux) treaty, when the Indians relinquished to the government 45,000 square miles, lying on the western side of the Mississippi. . . . He also reported Little Crow's speech at the second treaty of 1851 at Pilot Knob, near Mendota. He was also a member of the legislature from the Seventh district in 1851 and a witness with Sibley and others, before the United States court, in charges of fraud in Indian affairs. He was among the first to offer inducements to Dr. Breck and to Bishop Whipple to whom he gave ten acres of land for their

schools, contributing liberally in money and lands afterwards. . . .

Straight River Mills were commenced by Mr. Faribault in 1858, and the LeCroix [s] came from Montreal to superintend the construction, also the mill on Cannon river, known as the "Polar Star Mills," together with the mill on Straight river near Fourteenth street.

As early as 1837, Mr. Faribault visited Washington with Major Taliaferro, General Sibley and a delegation of Indians to conduct treaty negotiations with the government. He was one of the memorialists to congress in connection with the organization of Minnesota territory, and a charter member of the Minnesota Historical society. With General Sibley he was a principal stockholder in the Borup and Oakes bank, and was associated with General Sibley and William R. Marshall in organizing a bank in St. Paul in 1855. He was with General Sibley in the Sioux war of 1862 until the release of the white captives at Camp Release, near the town of Montevideo, Minn., and was among the few fortunate ones who escaped alive at the Battle of Birch Coulee. . . .

After a long and eventful life, Alexander Faribault passed away, November 28, 1882, at Faribault, and was laid to rest in Calvary cemetery with his kindred.

G. L. N.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

*The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900*  
(Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, vol. 122, no. 2). By HENRIETTA M. LARSON,  
PH.D. (New York, Columbia University, 1926. 273 p.  
Map.)

The numerous studies of phases of agrarian discontent since the Civil War that have appeared during the last fifteen years have made it increasingly clear that the causes of that discontent are to be sought primarily in the marketing situation, including transportation. There is need, therefore, of intensive studies of the history of marketing as it affects the farmer, and this book makes a beginning toward meeting this need.

With the instincts of an historian rather than of an economist, Miss Larson attacks her problem chronologically. She marks out five periods from 1858 to 1900, points out the distinctive characteristics and problems of each, and discusses the attempts at solution of those problems. The first period, from 1858 to 1867, was characterized by unsystematic and inefficient marketing in the river towns, which "made for very unstable conditions for both middleman and producer." In the second period, 1867 to 1876, the rapidly extending railroads and buyers in alliance with them gained "a definite measure of control in the local market," and competition between roads led to discriminations in rates. The Granger or anti-monopoly movement, which followed, is interpreted as an unsuccessful attempt of the producer to establish state control of marketing and transportation. The decade from 1876 to 1885 brought a shifting of the wheat area northwestward, the rise of Duluth and Minneapolis as important primary markets, and the development of a new form of monopoly in the line elevator system "which became the dominating agency in the local market." A second uprising of the producers — the Farmers' Alliance — began at the end of this period; and the following decade, 1885 to 1895, was marked by efforts, more or less successful, at state control of marketing and transportation, and by the development of

coöperative elevators. During the last five years of the century "the most significant aspect of the wheat market was the combination and integration of market agencies," and this "stimulated a counter movement on the part of the producers, already effective, which was to become the distinguishing feature of the next period."

The author points out that "the object of the producers and the middlemen, in their contests for power in the market, was to increase or maintain their share of the value of the wheat in the world market. There was no attempt to influence the world price of wheat." She reaches the conclusion that "by 1900 the proportion of the value of wheat going to the middlemen handling Minnesota's wheat had decreased . . . and the proportion received by the farmer had increased." Although "prices fell considerably faster than marketing costs," she believes that "the farmer's position had been improved, in that greater regularity had been secured in the market through the curbing of the middleman's power."

The book is undoubtedly a valuable contribution not only to Minnesota history but also to an understanding of present marketing problems. The author has used a wide variety of source material: manuscript collections and archives, including records of railroad companies; newspaper files; state and federal documents; reports of business organizations; and interviews and correspondence with some fifty people who "had first-hand acquaintance with the subject matter." The material is well organized and interpreted with acumen. At times, however, the author could have profited by a more extensive acquaintance with the general background of Minnesota history. The work has some of the faults that one expects to find in doctors' theses: there is a superabundance of detail and it is not always subordinated to the interpretation; there is considerable repetition (for example we are told three times on pages 97 and 98 that number 2 wheat was worth from five to ten per cent less than number 1); there is carelessness in diction; and there are a number of typographical errors.

The most serious mistake noted is the statement on page 189 that under the railroad act of 1887 the courts were to consider the orders of the commission as *prima facie* evidence of their reasonableness. That would have permitted a judicial review of the question of reasonableness, and it was because the act failed to



provide for such a review that it was declared unconstitutional. The comparison of wheat production by counties without consideration of their differences in size ( p. 119 ) is hardly a scientific way to illustrate the shifting of the wheat area. The Grange was by no means limited to "the new northwestern states," as implied in a note on page 74. The reference, without explanation, to a "People's Party" in 1869 (p. 106, n. 2) is likely to be confusing. The name that appears on page 21 as Curtiss F. Wedge and on page 264 as F. C. Wedge should be F. Curtiss-Wedge.

The work is provided with a good analytical index and a map showing the wheat area, routes of transportation, and markets in Minnesota. The extensive bibliography, though unannotated, will be very useful to students of cognate subjects.

SOLON J. BUCK

*"Yellowstone Kelly": The Memoirs of Luther S. Kelly.* Edited by M. M. QUAIFE. With a foreword by LIEUTENANT-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, U. S. A. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1926. xiii, 268 p. Illustrations.)

"Yellowstone" Kelly, as he was familiarly known on the plains, belongs to the younger generation of those intrepid hunters and Indian fighters whose exploits fill the records of our western history. Equally at home on the prairies, in the Rocky Mountains, or passing up and down the numerous rivers and smaller streams of the West, these men have given to the story of the Great Plains those touches of romance and heroism that have made it an epic of adventure unmatched in the annals of American history.

Kelly began his life of adventure by serving for three years in the United States army and he was present at the establishment of Fort Ransom on the Sheyenne River in 1867. After his term of enlistment had expired he determined to go to the headwaters of the Missouri River, where he might take part in the life of the hunter and trapper. He made his way alone on horseback from Fort Snelling to Fort Garry, or Winnipeg, as it was beginning to be called. Here he fell in with some Montana gold miners who had come across the country to winter where food was more abundant than in their crowded mining camps. From these men Kelly obtained his first glimpse of the adventurous life of the

plains and mountains that was to be his for the greater part of his life. He made his way through the mixed French, Scotch, and English half-breeds who were bound for the buffalo hunting grounds south of the Turtle Mountains. His travels took him to old Fort Berthold and to the new military posts of Fort Buford and Fort Stevenson. His comments on the conditions at these forts and his accounts of the continual warfare being waged upon the friendly Indians by the Dakota tribes add considerably to our information concerning this obscure subject.

At Fort Buford he joined a band of hunters who had planned an expedition to the Yellowstone River Valley. This portion of the work is filled with detailed and careful accounts of the methods used in hunting and trapping in a country known at that time as the prime buffalo hunting grounds of the Northwest. Kelly was a keen observer and not a little of the charm of his writing comes from the interesting accounts of the habits of the buffaloes, the antelopes, the wolves, and other wild animals he hunted or trapped on the Yellowstone.

In May, 1873, he joined a military expedition under General Forsyth that was sent out to explore the Yellowstone as far as the Powder River. The steamboat used was the "Far West" commanded by Captain Grant Marsh. Then followed three years more of hunting and trapping on the upper waters of the Missouri, during which he met most of the noted hunters of this big game country. After the battle of the Little Big Horn General Miles took up the pursuit of the hostile Dakota in the region south of the international boundary line and he hired Kelly as chief scout for the Yellowstone district. In the spring of 1877 he was detailed by General Miles to scout for hostiles in northern Montana and Idaho.

He was later ordered to join the expedition in pursuit of the Nez Perces Indians and was present at the surrender of Chief Joseph. His next detail took him to Yellowstone Park, and this was followed by some skirmishing with the hostile Ute Indians. The last military service he describes took place in Colorado, where he aided in laying out a military road in the Grand River Valley. His adventures in Alaska and his military service in the Philippines will appear in a later work not yet ready for the press.

ORIN G. LIBBY

*Yearbook of the Swedish Historical Society of America.* Volume  
11. (St. Paul, 1926. 156 p.)

Minnesota occupies more than a prominent place in this annual publication of the Swedish Historical Society — it very nearly crowds out everything else; most of the contributors are Minnesotans and much of the subject matter deals with Minnesota. The *Yearbook*, however, does not suffer from this "restraint of trade among the several states"; it gains, since there are few places in this country where so many persons are working intelligently and critically with the history of the Swedes in America.

The first contribution to this publication is a testimonial to growing international comity, for Theodore C. Blegen discusses "Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants." Beginning with the efforts to attract settlers during territorial days, Mr. Blegen brings out the high lights of Minnesota's activities in competition with her neighbors down to the eighties. The paper naturally and inevitably lays emphasis on work in Scandinavian lands and among Scandinavian and German immigrants already in America. The article is followed by a selection of illustrative documents "drawn, with one exception, from the official state archives in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society," and being for the most part examples of reports by officials having directly to do with the encouragement of immigration to the state.

Following Mr. Blegen's article is "An America Letter of 1849" with introduction, translation, and explanatory notes prepared by George M. Stephenson, one of the editors of the *Yearbook*. The letter was written from Jefferson County, Iowa, October 9, 1849, by Steffan Steffanson who, with his wife and eight children, left Sweden in May, 1849, and settled in the New Sweden community near what is now Lockbridge, Iowa. The letter tells of the journey from Gothenburg to Iowa, the people encountered, the efforts to find reliable persons with whom to do business, and the selection of land to buy. Sickness and death went along with the family, yet despite the loss of a daughter on the trip across Illinois and attacks of malaria, Steffanson evidently looked forward to a future not devoid of hope. "I haven't much money left," he wrote, "and after I shall have purchased livestock and necessary implements, my funds will be exhausted.

I can only hope that if I and my family live and enjoy good health, it will not be difficult to get along in material affairs. And so far as spiritual matters are concerned, conditions here are much better than in Sweden, there being no religious laws to interfere with freedom of conscience."

Roy W. Swanson writes interestingly of "Some Swedish Emigrant Guide Books of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," most of which circulated widely for a time but which, like so much important historical material, have become very scarce. Five works of travelers and gazeteer-makers, from Johan Bolin's Swedish handbook for "immigrants of the lower classes" published in 1853, to A. G. Carlson's *En emigrants resa* of 1894, are listed. Each is described in detail enough to acquaint the reader with the nature and scope of the book.

Adolf Olson's "Educational Work Among the Swedish Baptists of America" begins with the pioneers of the fifties. The greater part of the study, however, has to do with John Alexis Edgren and his efforts to establish a theological seminary to train Swedes for the Baptist ministry. Mr. Olson traces the wanderings of the peripatetic seminary over the upper Mississippi Valley to its final, or at least present, abiding place in St. Paul.

A. A. Stomberg, one of the editors of the *Yearbook*, contributes a series of notes on "Swedish Americans and the Year 1926" wherein he describes particularly the Ericsson memorial exercises at Washington and Philadelphia.

LESTER BURRELL SHIPPEE

*The Earliest Fur Traders on the Upper Red River and Red Lake, Minn. (1783-1810)* (The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, *Transactions*, new series, no. 1). By CHARLES NAPIER BELL, LL.D., F.R.G.S., president of the Society. (Winnipeg, Saults and Pollard Limited, 1926. 16 p. Map.)

After a long silence the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba has announced its rebirth and its continued interest in the history of the Red River Valley by commencing a new series of transactions. It is to be hoped that the series will prove a lengthy one, if ensuing numbers shall equal in significance this first publication.

The main portion of the pamphlet consists of the texts of two agreements made between Jean Baptiste Cadotte and the Northwest Company in the years 1795 and 1796 respectively. Cadotte, as Dr. Bell points out, was a trader of outstanding importance in the development of trade routes and methods in the region about Lake Superior and northwest to Lake Winnipeg. Besides affording information on Cadotte's whereabouts in a hitherto obscure period of his career, these trade agreements give interesting facts about prices and kinds of furs secured in the country between Lake Superior and Red Lake; and about boundaries of special trading areas in that region. In transcribing the agreement written in English Dr. Bell has made the mistake of copying Quinuique (Winnipeg) with an initial *A*; and in article 4 he has read "States prices" for "Stated prices" and "others" for "otters." With these few errors excepted, the document is carefully reproduced. The translation of the French is also faithful, though the use of the pound sterling sign, £, may be questionable as a translation for *livres*.

To the documents Dr. Bell has added two notes, in one of which he refers to "a large number of signed and witnessed agreements between voyageurs or other employees and both the Northwest Company and . . . the X. Y. Co., these documents being dated between 1787 and 1820." As information concerning these two companies is very scarce, it is to be hoped that Dr. Bell will publish the entire series. If there are too many to appear in the transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, they would be very appropriate for publication in a number of historical quarterlies in the United States. At all events, they should be made accessible to the many students of the fur-trade régime in Canada and the United States.

As Dr. Bell shows a desire to learn more of the Cadotte family, it may interest him to know that the name Jean Baptiste Cadotte appears as early as 1772 in the licenses preserved in the Canadian Archives and continues to appear until 1785. Even earlier the name Cadot, presumably the father of the Jean Baptiste of these agreements, appears with that of Alexander Henry on a document now in the Senate Files in Washington that purports to convey land on the south shore of Lake Superior to Robert Rogers in

the year 1760. Probably the date is 1765 or a little later. Further data on the younger Cadotte may be found in the minutes of the Northwest Company in the Bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice in Montreal, where, sad to relate, his expulsion from the company on account of "his Scandalous Conduct" is recorded in the minutes of the proprietors' meeting at Kaministiquia on July 19, 1803. Incidentally, David Thompson was then admitted to the company to fill Cadotte's place.

G. L. N.

*The Rise and Fall of Jesse James.* By ROBERTUS LOVE. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1926. ix, 446 p. Frontispiece.)

*The Northfield Bank Raid.* (Northfield, 1926. 22 p. Illustrations.)

"In the interest of justice to the departed and to the cause of history," the story of the notorious Missouri bandits has been retold by Robertus Love. In the preface the writer assures his readers that he has examined a "vast accumulation of unreliable material along with much that is reliable," and that by "employing common sense . . . he has rejected the rubbish and accepted the real." His method, however, is that of the newspaper reporter; he invariably emphasizes the most spectacular events in the thrilling careers of the border villains; and his language is that of a modernized dime novel. For example, he informs the reader, "Should you seek seriously for the germ of the genesis of all-round outlawry in Missouri, invented and carried on by men born on the border in the Roaring Forties and reared there in the Rip-roaring Fifties, ignore not the seven shuddery years preceding Sumter," and he tells of names "which we may hang as crimson rosettes upon the tablets of authentic history." Of special interest to Minnesotans are the five chapters in which Mr. Love covers the story of the Northfield robbery of 1876—the "Youngers' Gettysburg and Waterloo," which resulted in their imprisonment at Stillwater. For this portion of the narrative the sole source seems to have been George Huntington's *Robber and Hero* (Northfield, 1895), an account which Mr. Love considers "thoroughly reliable."

Another recent publication dealing with the Northfield raid is a pamphlet containing a series of articles reprinted from the *Northfield News* of August 27, and September 3, 10, and 17, 1926, the longest of which is entitled "The Northfield Saga." The articles were published originally to call attention to the fiftieth anniversary of the "repulse of the James-Younger gang."

B. L. H.

## MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Minnesota historical backgrounds reaching across the Atlantic to old-world institutions will be exploited at the sixth state historical convention under the auspices of the society, which is to be held at St. Cloud and Willmar on June 16 and 17. The program of the first day has the following main features: an automobile trip from the Twin Cities to St. Cloud, with a brief stop at Anoka; a luncheon in St. Cloud arranged by the St. Cloud Reading Room Society; a local history conference, with Dr. Buck as the principal speaker; an afternoon automobile trip to some of the institutions and other places of special interest in the vicinity of St. Cloud; a special "historic exhibit" on display in St. Cloud store windows; and an evening session in the auditorium of the St. Cloud State Teachers College. At this session Dr. August C. Krey, professor of history in the University of Minnesota, will read a paper bearing the very interesting title, "Monte Cassino, Metten, and Minnesota." There will also be an address on the historical backgrounds of the St. Cloud community, and a motion picture dealing with the present and past of Stearns County will be exhibited. The society's "historic tour" will be continued on the morning of June 17 from St. Cloud. The first stop will be at Paynesville, where a delegation from New London and Willmar will meet the tourists and guide them first to Sibley State Park and then to New London and the shores of the beautiful Green Lake. Apart from the interest in the historical backgrounds of the region, the surpassing natural beauty of this Minnesota lake country will doubtless be a lure to many to join this year's tour. A complimentary noon luncheon, given by the Willmar Commercial Club, will be served the guests at the Green Lake Country Club at Spicer. Following this the tourists will motor to Willmar, where a joint meeting will be held in the afternoon with the Kandiyohi County Old Settlers' Association. The central feature of the afternoon program will be the dedication of a large new pioneer log cabin erected by the association as a meeting place and memorial on the county fair grounds. In the



evening a banquet will be served at Willmar and this will be followed by a program of historical addresses and papers, one of which will be given by Senator Victor Lawson on "The Historical Backgrounds of Willmar and Kandiyohi County."

The state appropriation for the regular activities of the society has been set at \$47,400 for each year of the next biennium — an increase of four hundred dollars. The fund available for expenses and equipment was left at twenty thousand dollars, the same as the amount voted in 1925; the increase is in the maintenance fund and makes possible a few slight salary adjustments. The allowance for the work of the war records division is eight thousand dollars for each year of the biennium — an increase of two thousand dollars over the appropriation of 1925. The additional amount is intended to make possible the publication of the history of Minnesota in the World War, which will be brought out in two volumes, one each fiscal year. In the budget submitted by the society to the state department of administration and finance a request was made for an increase sufficient to pay the salary of a new library assistant to be designated head of the reference department. With the mounting demands by the public upon the library staff and the steadily increasing use of the society's books, such an assistant is sorely needed in the interests of efficient service. This increase was not allowed, however, and the society faces the task of serving the constantly growing library demands of the public with an insufficient staff.

A series of four free illustrated public lectures on Minnesota history was given by members of the staff in the auditorium of the Historical Building during the spring. The attendance at the lectures averaged nearly a hundred persons and the interest shown will probably lead to the giving of a second series next year. The first lecture, given on March 16 by Mr. Babcock, was entitled "By Canoe and Trail with the Explorers"; the second, on April 13 by Miss Nute, dealt with "A Hundred Years of Traders and Missionaries"; the third, on April 27 by Mr. Blegen, was on "Minnesota Pioneer Life"; and the last, on Statehood Day, May 11, by Mr. Buck, had as its theme "How Minnesota Became a State."

"The Minnesota Indians" was the subject of a radio talk given by Mr. Babcock from station WCCO on March 28. He spoke on the same subject before the Prospect Park Study Club of Minneapolis on January 4, and on January 17 he presented an "Illustrated Ramble through Minnesota History" before the women's club at White Bear Lake. On February 21 he participated in the program of a Rice County Historical Society meeting at Faribault, with an address entitled "A Pictorial History of the Sioux Land," and he gave a talk on "Early Days in Our Community" at the John Marshall High School of Minneapolis on March 17. Miss Nute read a paper on "Minnesota Pioneer Women" before the Keewaydin chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Minneapolis on January 8; she spoke to the Northrop School of Minneapolis on February 18 on George Washington; and in March she gave a lecture on the use of manuscripts to a class of history students from Hamline University and a lecture on "Minnesota before the Territorial Period" to a class at the University of Minnesota.

Eighteen additions to the active membership of the society were made during the quarter ending March 31, 1927. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

BLUE EARTH: Michael D. Fritz, Mankato.

HENNEPIN: Harold G. Cant, Caroline M. Crosby, Dr. Frank T. Gerecke, Mrs. Luth Jaeger, Rollo C. Keithahn, Mrs. Edward J. Kimball, Edna H. Nelson, and Roy Sharratt, all of Minneapolis.

RAMSEY: Erna M. Grussendorf, Anna V. Olson, Dr. Fred C. Schludt, Luella T. Swenson, Dr. Dale D. Turnacliff, and Dr. Harvey B. Washburn, all of St. Paul.

RICE: Kate I. Cole of Faribault, and John C. Hillyer of Northfield.

WINONA: Mabel L. Sheardown of Winona.

The society lost eight active members by death during the three months ending March 31: Oscar A. Naplin of Thief River Falls, January 15; George H. Warren of Minneapolis, January 23; Samuel B. Harding of Minneapolis, January 29; John J. Kelly of Minneapolis, February 11; Charles S. Benson of St. Cloud, February 25; Lorin Cray of Mankato, March 3; Jacob Stone of Minnea-

polis, March 15; and Winslow M. Brackett of Farmington, March 16. Dr. Harry Pratt Judson of Chicago, an honorary member, died on March 4. The death of a corresponding member, Herman Haupt, Jr., of East Setauket, Long Island, on July 23, 1925, has not previously been reported in the magazine.

The public library of Marble and the library of the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis became subscribers to the publications of the society during the quarter ending March 31; and the Winona Association of Commerce became an annual institutional member.

At the February conference of the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution a special resolution was passed thanking the Minnesota Historical Society for its coöperation and aid in "historical and research work."

Two members of the staff, the superintendent and the curator of the museum, attended the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at New Orleans, March 31 to April 2, and Mr. Babcock also was present at a meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, of the Midwest Museums Conference, of which he is vice president. At a recent conference of museum directors in the Twin Cities it was agreed to invite the Midwest Museums Conference to meet at the Minnesota Historical Building in St. Paul next November. A formal acceptance of this invitation will probably be received in the near future.

The desirability of building up a collection of motion-picture films of historical interest has long been recognized and attempts have been made to secure the coöperation of the regular producers. No satisfactory plan by which commercial films may be acquired has been worked out as yet by the society, but the possibilities will be further explored. In the meantime the society has acquired a small motion-picture camera and the curator of the museum will endeavor to make a few films of historic scenes and current events. A projector has also been purchased.

The war records division has nearly completed the first volume of its two-volume history of Minnesota in the World War and has the second well under way.

Mr. Blegen has been appointed to a part-time position in the history department of the University of Minnesota and has resigned from his position as professor of history at Hamline University. The new arrangement will go into effect at the opening of the next school year.

That the service being rendered by the society to newspapers and through them to the public by the monthly *Minnesota Historical News* is appreciated is indicated by the responses to an announcement that the "Minnesota Trail Blazers" series was nearing an end and an inquiry as to whether another series was desired. Typical of the letters received is one from the editor of the *Wadena Pioneer Journal*, who wrote: "We feel as though our readers enjoyed the articles even as much as we did ourselves. By all means, give us another series."

#### ACCESSIONS

A manuscript map by John Dutton, dated 1814, in the archives of the Province of Ontario at Toronto, is of special interest for Minnesota history because it shows the trading posts of the Northwest Company in the general region of Minnesota and lower Manitoba. The provincial archivist, Dr. Alexander Fraser, has had the portion of this map of most interest to Minnesotans photostated and has presented the copy to the society. Trading posts are shown at Red Lake Falls, Cass Lake, Leech Lake, and at various other places. The map is also of value for its indication of the canoe routes that were common in the early part of the nineteenth century in the Minnesota region.

A calendar or inventory of the manuscript maps relating to the Northwest is being compiled under the auspices of the Conference of Historical Agencies in the Upper Mississippi Valley and the society is receiving the parts of it that are of Minnesota or general interest. The installments that have come in bring to light much valuable material for Minnesota history. An undated map is described as "Early sketch of the country between the Saint Croix and Mississippi rivers and the Grand Forks of the Red River of the North. B. F. Baker." Benjamin F. Baker was a prominent fur-trader in the region about Fort Snelling who died in 1839.

Thus this map must antedate that year. Another map is called "Sketches of a military reconnoissance from Fort Atkinson, Iowa, to the headwaters of the Saint Peters River." One may conjecture that this map, though it is unsigned, resulted from the expedition of dragoons made in 1845 under the leadership of Captain Edwin V. Sumner from Fort Atkinson to Traverse des Sioux, Lac qui Parle, Big Stone Lake, and points farther to the north-west. One of the most interesting descriptions reads, "Early map of the country in the vicinity of Fort Snelling, drawn by an Indian." Possibly the earliest extant map of Fort Snelling is the one entitled, "Ground plan of a fortification of the Mississippi and Saint Peters rivers." The date is 1820. It is expected that copies of many of these maps will be secured by the society in the course of time.

Three groups of missionary papers have been received during the quarter ending March 31: the regular installments of transcripts of letters in the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; typed copies of letters in French from Catholic missionaries at Pembina and in its vicinity, the originals of which are in the archives of the diocese of Quebec; and the Catholic parish registers for St. Paul from 1841 to 1857, which have been borrowed from the cathedral residence in order that photostatic copies may be made. The Catholic missionary letters have the distinction, so far as can be ascertained at present, of being the first records after the French régime of missionary activities on Minnesota soil or near by. Thus far the letters of Father Dumoulin, who was at Pembina from 1818 to 1823, and of Father Belcourt, who was in the same locality from 1830 to 1848, have been typed. The St. Paul parish registers, especially for the earlier years, are unique volumes, giving names of settlers, half-breeds, and Indians, vital statistics, social data, and many other kinds of information. Three volumes have been borrowed by the society thus far and probably one more will ultimately be copied.

"Earliest Political Activity and Organization in the Upper Mississippi Country" and "The Struggle for Monopoly of the Fur Trade" are the titles of University of Minnesota masters'

theses, copies of which have been received by the society from the respective authors, Mrs. Florence A. Hartwig and Miss Anne Ratterman. Both papers are based largely on unpublished manuscript sources and contain much information of special Minnesota interest. Miss Ratterman's study deals with the fur trade, and particularly the American Fur Company, in the period after the withdrawal of John Jacob Astor.

An important recent accession is a group of twenty-five photographs of original sketches made by Frank B. Mayer at Traverse des Sioux in 1851, the originals of which are in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago. These photographic copies were secured through the courtesy of Colonel W. C. Brown of Washington. From the Newberry Library the society has also obtained a photostatic copy of the diary kept by Mayer on his journey in 1851 from Baltimore to St. Louis, then up the Mississippi to St. Paul, and on to Traverse des Sioux, with very full records of his experiences and observations at the latter place. The sketches and the diary, taken together, comprise an unusually interesting record, for Mayer was a keen observer and possessed the power of vivid description not only in the lines of his sketches and paintings but also in words, and the two aptitudes supplement each other admirably.

From the estate of the late Dr. G. A. Newman of Stillwater has been received a large collection of museum objects including five specimens of Indian stone implements and pipes, mostly from Kandiyohi, Becker, and Goodhue counties, Chippewa beadwork from Mille Lacs, and household articles brought from Massachusetts and from Norway to Minnesota in the sixties.

A woven basket made in 1900 by Indians of the Aleutian Islands has been received from Mrs. Nellie B. Wright of Excelsior.

Recent additions to the society's costume collection include a black velvet coat of 1896, several beautiful gowns of 1896 and 1906, and a carpet bag of the seventies, presented by Mr. Frederick B. Wells of Minneapolis; a small fur shoulder cape of 1870 and a muslin chemise of 1868, from Mrs. A. Edward Cook of Minneapolis; a small black shoulder cape of about 1775, from

Miss Louise M. Clifford of St. Paul; and a pair of black silk mitts and some collars, presented by Mrs. Nellie B. Wright of Excelsior.

The military collection has recently been increased by gifts of a Civil War sheath knife, from the Boyd Transfer and Storage Company of Minneapolis; two flags, American and French, that flew over a base hospital in France during the World War, from Mr. W. H. Owen of Minneapolis; and a number of Civil War objects, from Mr. William Milligen of Faribault.

The numismatic collection has been enriched by ten pieces of Continental currency ranging in denomination from forty to sixty dollars, presented by Mrs. Edmund J. Phelps of Minneapolis; and a number of pieces, including a Confederate fifty-dollar note and a Columbian half-dollar, received from Miss Alena Eayres of Minneapolis.

A small apothecary's scale with weights and two pioneer medicine cases have been presented by Dr. William E. Leonard of Minneapolis; and a brass stomach pump and a hypodermic outfit are gifts of Dr. James C. Ferguson of St. Paul.

Among recent gifts illustrative of pioneer life may be mentioned a small handmade iron pitchfork found on the site of the Winnebago Indian agency, received from Mr. O. B. DeLaurier of Long Prairie; two old whiskey flasks carried by a Black Hills stage driver, from Mrs. G. E. Tuttle of Minneapolis; an ox yoke for single driving and a small handmade toy horse, from Mr. P. O. Fryklund of Roseau; and a pair of dipping sticks used in making candles, from Mrs. S. R. Hatfield of Faribault.

## NEWS AND COMMENT

"The Papers of the American Fur Company: A Brief Estimate of Their Significance" is the title of an important article by Dr. Grace Lee Nute in the *American Historical Review* for April. These papers, now in the possession of the New York Historical Society, cover the period from 1835 to 1845, and since they consist of "the correspondence and books of the largest American business firm of the period" they are of great value for the study of American history in that decade. Dr. Nute's analysis of the papers proves her contention that for "practically every phase of American life during the decade these papers hold items of interest: commerce, banking, domestic markets, politics, domestic manufactures, transportation, religious conditions, education, settlement of the West, land speculation, Indian policy, travel and travellers, the panic of 1837, foreign relations, and very many others." She goes so far as to say that "one could hardly get from any single group of papers a more accurate cross-section of American life for the decade 1835-1845 than these papers afford." Under Dr. Nute's supervision a calendar of the collection has been prepared through the coöperation of nine historical agencies, including the Minnesota Historical Society. This calendar, with its comprehensive index, fills 1,942 typed pages. A copy of the calendar is owned by each of the nine coöperating institutions. This implies a very considerable physical aid to research, for a "student can now consult a typed abstract of every document in the collection and determine for himself without an expensive trip to New York whether the collection contains aught for his purpose." Students of American history will be grateful to Dr. Nute both for the positive contribution that she makes by her analysis of the operations of the American Fur Company and for pointing the way to the rich research possibilities of the papers.

Another important article in the *American Historical Review* for April is an analysis of "The History of American Immigration as a Field for Research," by Marcus L. Hansen. Dr. Hansen does three things very effectively in this article: he shows the wide-



reaching ramifications of American immigration, both in the field of European backgrounds and in American social, economic, and political life; he makes it clear that the subject of American immigration is, if not precisely a virgin field for research, one the possibilities of which have as yet been only slightly exploited; and he directs attention to certain hitherto little used sources of information on immigration, particularly the emigrant papers published in Germany, Switzerland, England, and other European countries. The appearance of Dr. Hansen's article is one of numerous recent evidences that the scientific study of the history of American immigration is rapidly gaining ground. There are fashions in research, and many causes are apparently operating to bring American immigration, a much neglected subject, into prominence as a field for special study.

"Making the Museum Serve the State" is the title of an article by Willoughby M. Babcock, published in the November number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the University of North Dakota. "The primary function of a modern museum," writes Mr. Babcock, "is to educate, not to act as a warehouse for the storage of any and all kinds of junk in the last stages of decrepitude." He calls attention to the value of museum publicity, the possibilities in the use of a museum by school classes, the usefulness of picture collections, and discusses various questions of policy in connection with the acceptance of donations and with loans. The value of special exhibits and of coöperation with business concerns is especially stressed. "The museum," writes Mr. Babcock in conclusion, "has created for itself a definite place in the educational and commercial life of today, and has justified its right to exist through its manifold services to the public."

A suggestive article entitled "Some of the Uses of a Historical Museum," by Charles E. Brown, in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for January, describes the work of the State Historical Museum of Wisconsin, of which Mr. Brown is the curator. Among the documents printed in the same magazine is a letter written from Savannah, Georgia, on December 24, 1864, by Sylvanus W. Stone to his wife at Melrose, Minnesota, telling in detail about camp life. "The soldiers," he writes, "are exceeding glad

of the re-election of Pres. Lincoln, and are in great hopes that the war will be over before spring. For further particulars about the campaign see the St. Paul Press, which now and then contains a letter from E. C., a man whom I know in Co. H."

*The American Indians and their Music* is the title of an important work by Frances Densmore (New York, 1926. 143 p.). Miss Densmore, who has previously published studies of Chippewa, Teton Sioux, Northern Ute, and Mandan and Hidatsa music, now makes a general survey, the scope of which is somewhat broader than her title suggests. In addition to chapters on many phases of Indian music, the book contains chapters on tribes and social organization, home life, languages, arts and crafts, ceremonies, dances, games, mounds and mound builders, early contact of the Indian and the white man, and famous Indians. Thus an adequate background is furnished for the more technical discussion of Indian songs and instruments.

Indian chiefs of the Minnesota Valley and a number of other prominent Indians and half-breeds of the region are the subjects of biographical sketches by Thomas Hughes which have been appearing serially in the *Mankato Daily Free Press*. Among the chiefs whose lives are described are Mazomani and Mahkato, January 5; Sleepy Eyes, February 2; Sintomniduta, February 12; Winneshiek, March 15; and Good Thunder, March 23. Other sketches deal with "Cloudman and His Descendants," January 14 and 19; "Rev. Artemus Ehnamani, an Early Sioux Convert," January 27; "The Renville Family, Early State Pioneers," February 16; "Some Prominent Chiefs of Winnebago Tribe," February 25; and "Early Indian Figures in Southern Minnesota," March 3. Most of the articles are accompanied by portraits or other appropriate illustrations.

A prediction that tourist traffic on the upper Mississippi will be revived in the near future is made by Captain John F. Killeen of Dubuque, Iowa, who for nearly half a century was connected with the Diamond Jo Line, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 27. Some of his river experiences also are recalled in connection with the article.

One chapter in a volume entitled *Uncommon Americans* by Don C. Seitz (Indianapolis, 1925) tells the story of Martin Scott, the famous hunter and marksman who was stationed at Fort Snelling as an officer from 1820 to 1827 and became commandant in 1837. Captain Marryat met Scott when he visited Fort Snelling in 1838 and wrote an interesting account of him in his diary. This material Mr. Seitz has used to good advantage.

"Fifty Thousand Years in the Red River Valley," is the title of an historical narrative published in installments in the *Erskine Echo* and concluded on February 25. The account deals with the ice age, the early years of the fur trade, the Selkirk settlement, exploring expeditions into the Red River Valley, the development of navigation on the Red River, the Sioux Outbreak, the Sibley expedition, and wheat raising in the valley. In addition to this series, the *Echo* has published a wealth of other historical material relating to the Dakotas and the Red River Valley. Early exploring and trading activities of such men as La Vérendrye, Henry, Long, and Woods are described in the issue for March 4, which also has an article telling of the history of Dakota Territory and a description of the "laying of the cornerstone of the state capitol building in Bismarck on September 5, 1885"; Pembina in the seventies, as recalled by F. A. Wardwell, and Frog Point are the subjects of two articles published on March 11; the story of "Isabella Murray, Prairie Bride" of Charles Cavalier, appeared on March 18; and "The Iron Trail," a survey of the history of railroad transportation in the Red River Valley, was printed on February 11.

"To Pembina by Red River Cart" over the Red River trails, a journey that connected two of the earliest settlements in the frontier Northwest, is the subject of an article by Frank B. Harper in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 20. The author tells of the growth of the settlements — Fort Douglas, Fort Garry, St. Boniface, Pembina — on the lower Red River, of the trails over which an extensive commerce passed to St. Peter's and later St. Paul, and of some of the expeditions which used these trails while exploring the region. Among the latter most attention is given to the Stevens Pacific railroad expedition of 1853 and the

Hind Canadian and Red River exploring expedition of 1857. Views of Fort Douglas and Fort Garry appear with the article.

The following note published in the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly* for January will interest Minnesota readers. "According to a recent item in the *Richland County Farmer* the last Red River Cart in Richland county, fashioned more than fifty years ago by wheelrights at the foot of Sibley street in St. Paul, and for several years past stationed in the state park at Abercrombie, has been housed against the weather. While the cart is still intact, it has been exposed to a great deal of weathering, and plans are now on foot to preserve it by treating the wood with preparations to prevent further decay."

A record of pioneering experiences in the Black Hills during the gold rush of 1876, kept by Herbert H. Hewes of Chicago, is quoted in part in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for February 27. "Pa built most of our new house today and is very tired. Moved in this evening," reported Hewes on May 29, and on June 12 he wrote: "Yesterday the first newspaper was published in the Black Hills — 20 cents apiece." The diary was located by Mr. E. L. Peet of Minneapolis, some of whose recollections of the gold rush also appear in the *Tribune*.

The text of "Lincoln's 1859 Address at Milwaukee," — a discourse on agriculture delivered at the Wisconsin State Fair — is published in full in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March. In the same number is an account by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg of the rich collection of Lucius Fairchild manuscripts in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Fairchild was a distinguished soldier in the Civil War and was governor of Wisconsin from 1866 to 1872. Dr. Kellogg refers to a sister of Fairchild, who married Eliab B. Dean, Jr., and who lived in the fifties at Superior, Wisconsin. "Descriptions of this frontier region of Wisconsin, as well as of the mining towns of Marquette and Ontonagon, fill the correspondence from 1853 to 1857," writes Dr. Kellogg. "During the winter of 1856 Mrs. Dean took an overland journey from Superior to St. Paul, sleeping in the open on the snow, with the thermometer many degrees below zero. A journal of this journey has been preserved, and

many years later her brother wrote from England that he had met a man who spoke, without knowing of their relationship, of a wonderful woman who traveled to St. Paul from Lake Superior in the dead of winter." In the same number a series of articles on "Historic Spots in Wisconsin," by W. A. Titus, is continued. Minnesota readers will be particularly interested in the one entitled "Stockholm, a Locality Rich in Legend and History," in which is told the story of Perrot and Fort St. Antoine. The number also contains a very suggestive article on "Church Records in Migration Studies" by Joseph Schafer.

A map of "Old Indian Trails in and Near Eau Claire," Wisconsin, and a descriptive article by William W. Bartlett, published in the *Daily Telegram* of Eau Claire for February 5, are based upon old township plats of the Chippewa Valley region.

An article on "The Boundaries of Iowa" by Erik McKinley Eriksson in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April is a useful study that will be of special interest to Minnesotans because of its discussion of the northern boundary of Iowa. Other articles in the same number are on "Ralph Waldo Emerson in Iowa" by Hubert H. Hoeltje, and "The Influence of Natural Environment in North-Central Iowa" by William J. Berry.

*The Pioneers, a Pageant of Early Iowa*, by Bruce E. Mahan, has been issued by the State Historical Society of Iowa (1927. 14 p.). The pageant was compiled "for use as a high school assembly program during Iowa History Week, April 18-23, 1927." The scene is a log cabin home of Iowa in the forties or fifties and there are two parts, one dealing with the trials of the pioneers and the other with pioneer fun.

The January *Palimpsest* contains a series of sketches by different authors on the Iowa pioneers. Following a general estimate are sketches on the following topics: "By Boat and Covered Wagon," "Claim and Cabin," "Earning a Living," "Around the Fireplace," "On the Highway," "Religion and Morality," "The Means of Education," "Frontier Fun," "The News," "Pioneer Politics," and "Rough Justice." If, perchance, the zealous authors have to a certain extent idealized the Iowa pioneers, the

sketches are vividly written and are packed with information of distinct value to all who are interested in middle western pioneering.

A vivid account of "The Pioneer Religious Revival" by Cal. Ogburn is printed in the *Annals of Iowa* for January.

*Michigan under British Rule, Law and Law Courts, 1760-1796* by William R. Riddell (Lansing, Michigan Historical Commission, 1926. 493 p.) consists in the main of the extant records of various courts of Quebec and Upper Canada that exercised jurisdiction on the American side of the boundary from 1788 to 1796. These are preceded, however, by a discussion of courts in the region from 1760 to 1788 and are followed by extensive notes. Minnesota East was a part of the districts over which these courts had jurisdiction, but no case of specific Minnesota interest has been observed in the records.

The Illinois State Historical Library has recently brought out the first volume of *The Diary of Orrville Hickman Browning*, edited by Theodore C. Pease and James C. Randall (Springfield, 1925. 700 p.). The part of the diary printed in this volume covers the period from 1850 to 1864. Special interest attaches to the Civil War entries made at Washington by Browning, who was then a United States senator from Illinois and closely associated with Lincoln.

#### GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

The state legislature, in chapter 102 of the *Laws* passed at the session of 1927, made the adjutant general of Minnesota responsible for compiling and preserving by counties "a permanent registry of the graves of all persons who shall have served in the military or naval forces of the United States and whose remains may rest in Minnesota."

By chapter 353 of the *Laws* of 1927 the Governor was authorized to appoint a commission to solicit funds not exceeding fifty thousand dollars for a suitable statue of Alexander Ramsey to be erected on the Capitol grounds.

Another law passed by the 1927 legislature (chapter 275) authorizes county auditors, with the approval of county boards, to destroy claims and vouchers, tax receipts, miscellaneous papers, and other documents over twenty years old that have accumulated in their offices. A proviso is added, however, that instead of "personally destroying any miscellaneous papers and correspondence, or any other documents, instruments, or papers which may be of historical value," the county auditors shall forward them to the Minnesota Historical Society, which may preserve them or destroy them, according to its judgment of their value. The law provides that all ballots and election returns, except the abstracts of the county canvassing boards, may be destroyed six years after the date of the election.

Among the measures before the 1927 legislature that failed to become laws were the following: a bill for the state to acquire eighty acres of land at Birch Coulee, the site of the famous Indian battle in 1862, and thus to broaden the relatively small piece of ground owned in that vicinity by the state at present into an imposing park to be named "Birch Cooley Battle Field State Memorial Park"; a bill to establish a "Sam Brown Memorial Park" at Brown's Valley, with the purchase of three acres of land and the cabin occupied for nearly sixty years by Brown; a bill for the erection of a monument in Milford Township, Brown County, "in memory of fifty-two persons killed in said township in the Indian outbreak of 1862"; and a bill for the erection of a monument at Moose Lake in Carlton County to commemorate citizens who lost their lives in the forest fires of October, 1918.

"Minnesota History: A Study Outline" is the title of a seventy-page syllabus by Theodore C. Blegen which has recently been mimeographed by Hamline University. The subject is divided into twenty-five broad topics, for each of which an outline, questions and suggestions, and references are given. Copies of the syllabus may be secured at fifty cents each from Hamline University, St. Paul.

Plans are being made at Red Wing for the celebration next fall of the two-hundredth anniversary of the building of Fort Beau-



harnois on the shores of Lake Pepin by La Perrière and a group of Frenchmen, who arrived there on September 17, 1727.

The General James Knapp chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of Hopkins, has voted funds to place a marker on the site of the Northwest Company fur-trading post at Sandy Lake. The interest of the members of the chapter was aroused as a result of the publication in the December number of this magazine (7:311-325) of Mr. Hart's article telling of the discovery of the site of the post.

How the "First Territorial Legislature Met in Log Hotel," the Central House of St. Paul, on September 3, 1849, is described in the magazine section of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 30. A picture of the old hotel and portraits of some of Minnesota's pioneer law-makers appear with the article.

*St. Olaf College through Fifty Years, 1874-1924*, by C. A. Mellby (Northfield, n. d. 93 p.), is a carefully prepared study and includes a survey of the cultural backgrounds and the ideals of the founders.

*Who's Who in Music and Dramatic Art in the Twin Cities*, compiled by Arthur E. Wascher and Thomas C. Ingham (Minneapolis, 1925. 220 p.), is an exceedingly useful compilation of condensed biographical and historical data. Though most of the volume is devoted to biographical sketches, there are also accounts of musical organizations in the Twin Cities and a brief sketch of public school music in Minneapolis.

In the last number of this magazine (p. 109) attention was called to the publication of a biographical and bibliographical work entitled *Physicians of the Mayo Clinic and Mayo Foundation*. This has now been issued in a second edition (Philadelphia, 1927. 578 p.), with the number of biographical sketches increased from 444 to 635, and the data brought down to January 1, 1926. The work has been supplemented by a volume bearing the title *Sketch of the History of the Mayo Clinic and the Mayo Foundation* (Philadelphia and London, 1926. 185 p.). Two introductory chapters deal with Dr. and Mrs. William Worrell Mayo and the youth and education of the Mayo brothers — Dr. William J. Mayo



and Dr. Charles H. Mayo. A series of fourteen chapters follows tracing the remarkable expansion of the clinic and describing the wide scope of its present-day activities. This book is an important contribution to American medical history.

Under the incongruous title "Away Back in 1860 Daring Voyageur Visioned Great Future for St. Paul," extracts from a visitor's account of Minnesota, published in the *Ladies' Repository* of October, 1861, appear in the *St. Paul Daily News* of March 13.

The Sibley House Association of the Minnesota Daughters of the American Revolution is planning two bronze tablets to be erected near the Mendota end of the new Mendota Bridge. One is to call attention to the Sibley House and the other to the beginnings of white settlement in the vicinity of the bridge.

"Steamboat Days Come Back for Minnesota River, Where First Freight Sailed in 1701," is the title of an article by Florence Lehmann in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 9. Beginning with Le Sueur's boat load of supposed copper ore destined for France, the author traces the history of transportation on the Minnesota through the years when steamboats carried the produce of the valley to market. A recent project for raising the level of the river about a foot and thus making it again useful for transportation has revived interest in the stream's past.

In order to present the "life story of a most unusual man who is recalled with something akin to awe by an elder generation but who is only known slightly to present day readers," the *Minneapolis Tribune* has published in its Sunday issues for March 6, 13, and 20 a biography of Ignatius Donnelly by Martin W. Odland. In general each installment deals with a distinct phase of Donnelly's career. His early life in Philadelphia, his education, his removal to Minnesota, and the founding of Nininger are described in the first article. It was Donnelly's ambition "to establish a country estate on the order of Washington's 'Mount Vernon' and Jefferson's 'Monticello,'" according to Mr. Odland. The second installment covers the greater part of Donnelly's political career — his early success, the defeat for Congress in 1868, which "marked the end of his career as a successful politician," and his later third party affiliations. In the third article Mr. Odland describes

the "series of books which began to make their appearance after repeated defeats and disappointments had caused Donnelly to turn with disgust from politics to the field of letters," and it is upon these literary works, the author claims, that the "true fame of Ignatius Donnelly rests." As a whole these articles, which are based to a considerable extent upon contemporary newspapers, form a useful and compact sketch of the colorful career of the "Sage of Nininger." The author has not drawn upon the vast collection of Donnelly Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

How Mrs. Margaret Baldwin, a mixed-blood Chippewa, helped to save Fort Abercrombie during the siege of 1862 is related in a series of articles on her life in the *Moorhead Daily News* for March 28, 29, and 30. According to an introductory note by the editor, the account was first "printed in a Twin City paper 25 years ago."

A sketch and two portraits of Mrs. Louisa Bluestone of St. Paul, a granddaughter of the Sioux chief, Red Wing, appear in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 6.

#### LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

That the founding of Bemidji resulted from a "diamond rush" is claimed in a story printed in the *Minnesota Daily*, a University of Minnesota publication, for February 10. According to this account a homesteader picked up glistening stones along the lake shore which he believed to be diamonds. A number of his friends bought up options on land in the vicinity, and when the stones were found to be quartz they changed their plans and organized a town site company.

Some recollections of Mr. J. R. Henderson of Seattle, who is said to have been the "first white child born in Mankato," are published in the *Mankato Daily Free Press* for January 7.

An account of "Early Settlers of Waconia" appears in the *Waconia Patriot* for January 6 as one of a series of local history sketches. Later accounts deal with Hancock Township and with the villages of Benton, Young America, and Norwood.

Some notes on the history of Mendota, the town that "sleeps in hills as progress rushes by doors," are published with pictures of several of its historic buildings in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for March 6.

The story of Lewiston, a little town in Sciota Township, Dakota County, which flourished while "it was the midway point for the Burbank stage line plying between Hastings and Faribault" only to pass out of existence with this means of transportation, is related by Senator C. S. Amsden, one of the early residents, in the *Northfield News* for January 28.

A brief sketch of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church of Lanesboro, Minnesota, with numerous illustrations comprises the bulk of the *Golden Jubilee Book* of that church published in 1924 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of its founding (Lanesboro. 24 p.).

Richfield, originally a farming community near Minneapolis, which is about to be absorbed by the larger city, is the subject of an historical sketch by Edward R. Sammis in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for February 20.

Some reminiscences of the blizzard of 1873, by Michael Holden, the only one to survive of a party of five settlers who were caught in the storm while hauling wheat from Beaver Falls to Willmar, are published in the *Montgomery Messenger* for January 21.

A frontier school opened at Marshall more than fifty years ago by Mrs. A. C. Tucker in her home in order that her own and the neighborhood children might receive an education is described by Mrs. Henry Matthews in the *News-Messenger* of Marshall for December 10, 1926. A history of Vallery Township, Lyon County, with some account of the earliest settlers, by Viola Reimestad, appears in the same paper for January 21.

A pioneer summer school near Granada in Martin County is described by Mrs. L. M. Neitzell, who taught there during June, July, and August of 1871, in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for February 8.

A paper read before the Modern Woodmen at Litchfield on January 13 by Mr. Frank McConville, entitled "Meeker County as I Knew It When a Boy," is published in the *Litchfield Independent* of January 19. Mr. McConville describes his family's northward journey from Illinois in 1867, and the conditions under which his father's pioneer Minnesota home was established.

The most important articles in an illustrated "Fiftieth Anniversary Section," published with the *Princeton Union* of December 30, 1926, are an outline of the history of the village, an account of the progress of the newspaper, and a biographical sketch of Robert C. Dunn, the publisher of the *Union* from 1876 until his death in 1918.

Under the title "23 Years a Reporter," Mr. J. Ted Beatty contributes a series of articles to the *Rochester Post Bulletin*, beginning January 19, in which he describes his experiences as a Rochester newspaper man.

A series of sketches of life in Scott County, many of which relate to pioneer conditions, by Win V. Working, has been appearing in the weekly issues of the *Belle Plaine Herald*. Many of the narratives are based on interviews with old settlers or on manuscript sources found in the community. The subjects of some of the sketches follow: the trials of pioneer doctors during the severe northern winters, January 6; a study of changes in the population elements of the Keystone colony in Blakely Township from Yankee to German and Irish, February 3; a history of the Frederick's Evangelical Lutheran Church in Blakely Township, February 17; the story of a pioneer Scott County "school ma'am," Miss Esther Bliss, March 17; and floods on the Minnesota River, March 24. The article for March 31 suggests that "Belle Plaine celebrate its diamond jubilee next year," and relates some of the town's early history.

The story of a Minnesota Swedish settlement is told in *The Vista Community* by Herman A. Peterson (Otisco, Minnesota, 1927. 54 p.). The settlement, which is in Waseca County, dates from the fifties. Much interesting information is included about early social and economic conditions in the settlement and about

the immigration from Sweden. The latter part of the pamphlet is a genealogical section dealing with the settlers of the community and their descendants. An interesting illustration is that of a log house built in the settlement in 1866, where it is said an important Swedish church conference was held in that year.

"Annals of the Town" is the heading of a column in the *Stillwater Daily Gazette* devoted to comments on early days. A number of the sketches have to do with lumbering and steam-boating on the St. Croix; others deal with dramatic attractions and theaters of the past, March 7; horse races of pioneer days, March 12; and an early St. Patrick's Day celebration, March 17.

A plea for the preservation of the landmarks of the 1850 Swedish settlement at Scandia in Washington County, by the Reverend J. A. Krantz, is published in the *Minnesota Stats Tidning* for January 19.

A group of interesting documents relating to early days in old St. Anthony are published serially in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* from February 20 to April 10 under the title "The Diary of the First White Child Born in Minneapolis," by Harriet Razada Godfrey. Held together by the connecting links of this pioneer woman's reminiscences are letters of her father, Ard Godfrey, dating from 1839; extracts from the diary of her mother; and her own diary, covering the years from 1863 to 1871. Here are recorded the intimate details of domestic life in a pioneer household — word pictures of "an age when hardships were many and the majority of the modern comforts were unknown." Something of the difficulty of the struggle for existence on the frontier also is revealed. The installments for March 6 and 13 include a number of letters written by Ard Godfrey from the West in 1862 and 1863, after he had joined the Fisk expedition in an effort to retrieve the family fortunes. Some of these tell about conditions in the Idaho mining country. In 1865 Miss Godfrey began to teach school, and the entry in her diary for August 2 of that year throws light on both cultural and economic conditions in pioneer Minnesota: "I am at home once more. School has been closed two weeks. The treasurer failed to raise the money for six months' school, so I came home, having earned \$52 in two months,

saving \$32." With each installment of the "Diary" are excellent views of early St. Anthony—the first suspension bridge across the Mississippi, the Falls of St. Anthony at various stages in their development, the business district in pioneer days, and other scenes that were familiar to Miss Godfrey in her childhood and early womanhood.

"I do hope and trust you will go against the bill to incorporate the town of Minneapolis. . . . I do not think there are 10 that would be in favor of it," writes Colonel John H. Stevens, the builder of the first house west of the river in what is now Minneapolis, in an undated letter written about seventy years ago to Thomas W. Pearce and Arba Cleveland. The letter is published with some brief comments about Stevens and early Minneapolis in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 7.

"Old Time Minneapolis Gardens" is the subject of an interesting contribution in the Minneapolis Public Library's *Community Bookshelf* for April. The article is based upon a series published in the *Minnesota Republican* of St. Anthony in 1855 under the title "Minnesota as It Is." It appears that many of the gardening experiments were undertaken in order to furnish a reply to the question frequently asked of early Minnesotans, "What can you raise away up there in Siberia?"

A tablet in memory of Robert Koehler, who was director of the Minneapolis School of Art from 1893 to 1914, has been unveiled in the school. Koehler's work in building up the school and in promoting the cause of art in Minneapolis is described in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 2.

In five mural paintings, recently completed and placed in the lobby of the Northwestern National Life Insurance Company Building of Minneapolis, Mr. Harry W. Rubins has pictured the historical development of the city at the Falls of St. Anthony. The first panel shows the coming of Father Hennepin and the last represents modern industrial and cultural life, and "through them all the Mississippi flows as the highway that first brought civilization to the northwest and then provided the power which made a metropolitan area possible," according to a description of the paintings, by C. L. Franks, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for

March 20. Reproductions of two of the panels accompany this article.

The story of a very active and influential liberal discussion club of Minneapolis is told in a pamphlet entitled *The Saturday Lunch Club of Minneapolis: a Brief History*, by William E. Leonard (Minneapolis, 1927. 16 p.).

The story of the development of the Sidney Pratt School of Minneapolis and of the Prospect Park district in which it is located is reviewed in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 7. The recent opening of a new portion of the school, which was established in 1898, was marked by a home-coming celebration on the part of the alumni.

A sketch of the history of St. John's Lutheran Church of Minneapolis, published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for February 17, is based in part on the recollections of its first pastor, Dr. G. H. Trabert. The church, which was established in 1883, is said to have been the "first English Lutheran church to be formed in the United States west of Chicago."

The "projected development of Third Street should unite all citizens in the erection of a suitable memorial in honor of Rev. Lucian Galtier," writes Guy W. Atherton in *The Open Road*, the official publication of the Automobile Club of St. Paul, for March. The author gives the exact location of the log chapel of St. Paul, built by Father Galtier, and suggests this as the suitable site for a memorial.

Plans are being made by the St. Paul city planning board to acquire the old Ramsey home, built in 1872 by the first territorial governor, according to an announcement in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 13. A picture of the house, which is still in practically its original state, appears with the article.

During the week of February 20 the Central Presbyterian Church of St. Paul celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary with special services. Good outlines of its history appear in the *St. Paul Daily News* for February 20, and the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 21.

